University of Alberta

Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework: Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman

By

Tara Jean Million

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology

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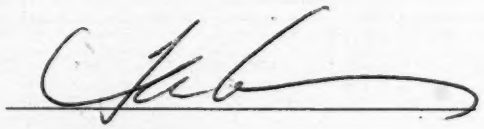

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Sept 27/02

There is a longing in the heart of my people to reach out and grasp that which is needed for our survival. There is a longing among the young of my nation to secure for themselves and their people the skills that will provide them with a sense of worth and purpose. They will be our new warriors. Their training will be much longer and more demanding than it was in olden days. The long years of study will demand more determination, separation from home and family will demand endurance. But they will emerge with their hand held forward, not to receive welfare, but to grasp the place in society that is rightly ours.

I am a chief, but my power to make war is gone, and the only weapon left to me is speech. It is only with tongue and speech that I can fight my people's war.

Oh, Great Spirit! Give me back the courage of the olden Chiefs. Let me wrestle with my surroundings. Let me once again, live in harmony with my environment. Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on. Like the thunderbird of old, I shall rise again out of the sea; I shall grab the instruments of the white man's success – his education, his skills. With these new tools I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society. I shall see our young braves and our chiefs sitting in the houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of *our* great land.

Chief Dan George

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework: Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman" submitted by Tara Jean Million in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. Clifford Hickey

Dr. John W. Ives

Dr. Earle Waugh

Dr. Maggie Hodgson

Sept 24/02

This work is dedicated to my daughters, Annamarie and Julia.
Everything comes from them and goes to them.

Preface

This thesis, "Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework: Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman", is not only meant to be an archaeological work but can also be read as an Indigenous political statement. I, the author, am deliberately self-identifying myself as both a woman archaeologist and as a member of the First Nations community situated within the larger North American context. Based on this explicit and personal contextualization, the archaeological work that this thesis presents is both predominantly constructed-through-and-constrained-by the medium of my self-identification as an Indigenous woman archaeologist.

Within this thesis, there are two points that are necessary to clarify immediately for readers. First, because of the explicitly political base of the thesis, I have intentionally chosen to capitalize all words that refer to First Nations people in order to recognize and emphasize their autonomy and independence. Therefore, general terms such as 'Aboriginal', 'Indigenous', 'First Nation', and 'Native' have been capitalized, as well as any specific references to cultural groups such as 'Cree' or 'Stoney'. Although I consider all generalized terms interchangeable, I have primarily utilized 'Aboriginal' throughout my thesis. However, this is a personal preference based on my interpretations of 'Aboriginal' as an inclusive term referring to all Native peoples, both status and non-status, and as an exclusive term delineating the distinction between colonizers and colonized throughout the modern world.

Second, this thesis is very woman centered. The archaeological work is presented both from a woman's point of view and explicitly placed within a female framework. Not only are the ceremonial elements based on traditional female behaviors, but the

overarching Aboriginal metaphor of White Buffalo Calf Woman that is incorporated into the thesis is woman based. I want to clarify that I do not intend this woman centeredness to be exclusionary, rather it is a necessary product of the personal context that establishes the fundamental base for this thesis. While this particular thesis and this particular development of Aboriginal archaeology are undeniably woman focused, I see this as an outcome of my self-identification as an Aboriginal woman. It would be equally possible to replace the female elements with male elements and, indeed, I encourage such a development.

Finally, I wish to state that this thesis, and the archaeological fieldwork that accompanied it, should not be read as only an academic work or even as only an Indigenous political statement. First and foremost, this work is personal. It is based on my training, my experiences, and my conclusions. I understand my educational process to be an overwhelmingly personal experience, to be a vision quest that I have undertaken. As a young person would set out to gain spiritual and intellectual adulthood through a vision quest, I have also set out to gain spiritual and intellectual adulthood through my graduate school experience. I have been challenged, unmade, re-articulated, and finally, rewarded with a vision. As is appropriate and right, I am sharing some of that vision with my communities and, hopefully, enriching them in the process. However, as is also appropriate and right, some of that vision will be kept private, because not all the knowledge from a vision quest should be shared or even verbalized. I hope that I have made wise choices in deciding what should or should not be shared, and I thank my grandmothers and grandfathers for providing me with guidance in this matter.

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Abstract

This thesis, "Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework: Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman", has a strong theoretical orientation based both on a critical analysis of traditional archaeological practice and a complementary analysis of traditional Aboriginal paradigms. The paradigm dichotomy that emerges through this analysis results in the development of an alternative Aboriginal archaeology, incorporating both archaeological practice and Aboriginal paradigms. This Masters thesis then focuses on three specific components developed through Aboriginal archaeology. The first is the establishment of a program of archaeological practice based on circular paradigms. Second, it undertakes a gender-based practice of archaeology within the traditional lands of Alexis First Nation, with particular attention paid to conforming to traditional Aboriginal women's practices. Third, there is the active mentorship of Aboriginal youths, through classroom instruction and field involvement, in order for them to gain experience in archaeology and exposure to possible applications of their academic learning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As an undergraduate student in anthropology, I focused on the sub-field of archaeology in preparation for both graduate work and professional work as an archaeologist. However, the academic classes that I undertook and my personal background and experiences led me to critique what I was being taught. I experienced this as a positive development, and indeed I was encouraged by academic and personal mentors to pursue my critical questions. Some of the issues that I considered included such basic questions as: What was archaeology? What is archaeology now? How does this discipline function in both theory and practice? What do the practitioners of archaeology think about what they do? What do outside observers think about what archaeology does? Why am I dissatisfied with, and disengaged from, archaeological practice? What is the value of archaeology? And, how can I re-integrate with archaeology and resolve these conflicts?

Within this introduction to my Masters' thesis I will first discuss some of the answers that I found to these questions and then consider my response to those answers. Therefore, the discussion will be built around fairly extensive quotes regarding archaeology and my voice will be predominantly relegated to that of a commentator. This format, while unusual, is necessary in order to establish initially and illustrate the standard views of archaeology. The Third and Fourth chapters within my thesis will focus on an extended presentation with my voice as the primary respondent to some of my questions.

What was archaeology and what is archaeology now?

Within this section, I will draw on views that encompass the 1970's until the present. I do so in order to illustrate that the essential understandings of what archaeology is have been relatively consistent and have formed a continuous base for practitioners of archaeology. Part of this process will consist of comparisons between works from the 1970's, the 1990's and more recent publications. These works will be formatted within this section in such a manner as to facilitate comparisons.

The argument could be made that I am not presenting an adequately comprehensive view of archaeology or the history and development of our discipline for several reasons; I have excluded pre-1970 material, I have not drawn on primary source material from major figures within archaeology, and I have only used materials that present a basic understanding of archaeology. My response to this potential argument is that my thesis is not primarily concerned with these issues. This is not meant to be a comprehensive review of the history and development of archaeology[1], nor is it a critique of individual archaeologists. I have deliberately chosen to focus my attention on archaeology as a whole, rather than becoming entangled in a debate on the work or merits of an individual practitioner or theoretical orientation.[2]

My thesis grapples with the underlying paradigms of archaeological thought and as such, a basic presentation of archaeology is essential in order to begin to uncover the core beliefs and objectives on which the discipline of archaeology is founded. In this sense, I concur with and follow the lead of Thomas when he states that "the term

[1] For those who are interested in such a review, comprehensive statements on the history and development of archaeology would include works such as, A History of Archaeological Thought by Bruce Trigger, A History of American Archaeology by Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff, and Skull Wars by David Hurst Thomas.

archaeology is meant in the broad sense. What I say in these pages should be relevant to all of modern archaeology, whether prehistoric or historic, traditional or radical, domestic or foreign. Certain concepts apply throughout the discipline." (Thomas, 1979, vi) As well, I consider myself to be concurring with Renfrew and Bahn, who stated in 1991 "...that in order to do good archaeology it is necessary to make explicit, and then to examine, our underlying assumptions." (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 37)

I have chosen to begin this discussion regarding the questions--what was archaeology and what is archaeology?--by utilizing several introductory academic texts. Haviland is the author of two introductory texts that I will initially consider and both texts are general introductory anthropology texts, rather than specifically archaeological texts. I need to clarify that I will use a very limited number of introductory anthropology and archaeology texts in this discussion. My only goal here is to begin this discussion through illustrating the uniformity of presentation about archaeology and the initial answer students receive regarding what archaeology is, rather than to present a comprehensive overview of all introductory texts. However, as this discussion progresses I will continue to incorporate multiple sources as I develop my consideration of what archaeology is. I have chosen to begin this discussion with this particular author's texts for several reasons. First, Haviland is an archaeologist and can present an example of an insider's perspective in his general statements pertaining to archaeology. Second, as archaeology is a sub-discipline of anthropology all introductory anthropology texts include what is considered the most basic information a student should have regarding archaeology.

---

[2] A primary example of a work that engages in such a debate is the 1948 dissertation A Study of Archeology by Walter Taylor.

In the following two quotes it is apparent that the aims of these two introductory anthropology texts have remained remarkably consistent over time:

1978 Introductory Text	1991 Introductory Text
This text is designed for introductory anthropology courses at the college level. It treats the basic divisions of anthropology-physical and cultural anthropology, including ethnology, linguistics, and prehistoric archeology-and presents the key concepts and terminology germane to each. The aim of the text is to give the student a thorough introduction to the principles and processes of anthropology. (Haviland, 1978, v)	This text is designed for college-level introductory anthropology courses. It treats the basic divisions of anthropology-physical and cultural anthropology, including ethnology, linguistics, and pre-historic archeology-and presents the key concepts and terminology germane to each. The aim of the text is to give the student a thorough introduction to the principles and processes of anthropology. (Haviland, 1991, v)

The similarity of their textual aims carries over into a similarity in how these texts present archaeology as the following quotes show. Indeed, within these two quotes the most significant change in describing archaeology is contained within the movement from an ambiguous 'often' to a definite ' are all' (emphasis added):

1978 Introductory Text	1991 Introductory Text
Archaeology is the branch of cultural anthropology concerned with the study of material objects as a means of describing and explaining human behavior. For the most part, it has focused on the human past, for things rather than ideas are **often** all that survive of that past. The archaeologist studies the tools, pottery, and other enduring relics that remain as the legacy of extinct cultures. (Haviland, 1978, 11)	Archaeology is the branch of cultural anthropology that studies material remains in order to describe and explain human behavior. For the most part, it has focused on the human past, for things rather than ideas **are all** that survive of that past. The archaeologist studies the tools, pottery, and other enduring relics that remain as the legacy of extinct cultures, some of them as much as 2.5 million years old. (Haviland, 1991, 11)

Although these texts are from 1978 and 1991, perhaps it could be argued that this similarity of aims and presentation is the result of utilizing examples from a single author, Haviland. While it could also be argued that one person's views do not make a discipline, I will now move on to considering other sources thereby invalidating these arguments. When comparing the previous two American texts with a third British text, specifically an introduction to archaeology, an obvious similarity emerges from even the most basic statements regarding what archaeology is that are made by these two different authors speaking at three different times:

1978 Haviland	1985 Rahtz	1991 Haviland
Archaeology is the branch of anthropology that studies material objects, usually those that people have lost or discarded, in order to describe and explain human behavior. (Haviland, 1978, 183)	Archaeology is the study of material culture in its relationship to human behavior-the physical manifestations of man's activities, his rubbish and his treasure, his buildings and his graves. (Rahtz, 1985, 1)	Within the field of cultural anthropology are archaeologists, who seek to explain human behavior by studying material objects, usually from past cultures... (Haviland, 1991, 5)

This initial examination of archaeology leads to the identification of several basic concepts that have consistently emerged. All of these basic understandings of archaeology involve material remains, the makers'/users' behaviors, and the relationships that exist between the material objects and the makers'/users' behaviors. Renfrew & Bahn present a more sophisticated, but still identical, rephrasing of the previous definitions of archaeology as can be seen within the following quote:

> Traditional approaches tended to regard the object of archaeology mainly as reconstruction...a further objective has been termed 'the reconstruction of the lifeways of the people responsible for the archaeological remains'. We are certainly interested in having a clear picture of how people lived,

> and how they exploited their environment. But we also seek to understand *why* they lived that way: why they had those patterns of behavior, and how their lifeways and material culture came to take the form they did. We are interested, in short, in *explaining* change. This interest in the processes of cultural change has come to define what is known as *processual archaeology*. Processual archaeology moves forward by asking a series of questions, just as any scientific study proceeds by defining aims of study-formulating questions-and then proceeding to answer them. (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 11-14)

As with the previous three examples, Renfrew & Bahn specify that material culture, patterns of behavior, and the relationships that exist between material culture and lifeways are a primary focus for archaeology. The greater development of their description of our discipline lies not in the basic elements that comprise archaeology, but in the introduction of a specific theoretical orientation and a prioritized agenda for archaeology. The introduction of these elements leads us to my next question, how does this discipline function theoretically and practically?

How does archaeology function in both theory and practice?

As the first section within this chapter considered my initial questions regarding what archaeology was, and is, this second section will now consider my developing questions of how archaeological theory and practice function within our discipline. Once again, I will be considering theory and practice for archaeology as a whole, rather than focusing on any one specific theoretical orientation. While the division of archaeological theory, and the resulting development of methods, into distinct camps is standard practice within academic archaeology, I will be following the lead of Thomas, who stated in 1979, that:

> Despite the disparate views of culture and anthropological strategy, we find a remarkable agreement among contemporary archaeologists as to the

> ultimate aims of archaeology (eg, Binford 1968c; Deetz 1970; Thomas 1974). Archaeology's initial objective is to construct **cultural chronologies** to order past material culture into meaningful cultural segments. The intermediate objective is to breath life into these chronologies by reconstructing past **lifeways**. The ultimate objective of contemporary archaeology is to determine the **cultural processes** that underlie human behavior, past and present. These processes are expressed as lawlike statements and consist of timeless, spaceless universals. Note that the objectives are rank-ordered, proceeding from chronology to lifeway to process. This ordering reflects the primacy given to each goal...This ordering also reflects the growth of archaeology as a science. (Thomas, 1979, 137-138)

The above quote by Thomas clearly establishes that archaeology is primarily concerned with the creation of culture chronologies in order to understand cultural changes over time. Or phrased another way, "by studying what ancient people left us, the archaeologist gathers evidence of the ways in which cultures grow, change, and interact with one another." (Haviland, 1978, 11)

I am well aware that the argument could be made that I am not doing justice to archaeological theory by 'lumping' and that each paradigm shift within the development of archaeology has resulted in new and unique theoretical orientations. For example, the theoretical camps of processual and post-processual archaeology are often perceived by archaeological practitioners as being so dissimilar that no reconciliation or collaboration is possible.[3] However, I will again point out that my thesis is not primarily concerned with a critique or debate regarding the merits of each single theoretical orientation or practitioner of archaeology. Instead I am interested in exploring the basic concepts which

---

[3] A recent example of this disaffiliation can be seen within the realm of gender archaeology. While not the first publication on gender archaeology, the 1991 text edited by Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey, Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory, resulted in the ongoing debate within our discipline regarding both the possibility and validity of applying gender studies to archaeological fieldwork and interpretations.

underlie archaeology and therefore form the basis for **all** archaeological theory. As Thomas points out, with great emphasis:

> Many seem to feel that there is no consistency within modern archaeological thinking. This perspective is dead wrong. There is indeed a single theoretical framework that overarches American archaeology, and this is why this book is written the way it is. As I see it, archaeology is characterized by three hierarchical goals: construct cultural chronologies, reconstruct past lifeways, and understand cultural processes. (Thomas, 1979, vii)

Once we examine the previous statements regarding archaeology, it is clear that there are several common elements. Not only are the previously established ideas of material culture, patterns of behavior, and the relationships that exist between them reiterated, but an even more essential element underlying archaeology emerges from an examination of these statements regarding what archaeology is and does. Within each description of archaeology the 'past' is constantly present. Indeed, the inclusion of references to the 'past' as a part of archaeology have been present implicitly and explicitly throughout all of the quotes presented so far. Furthermore, the 'past' has been utilized as the mediating framework through which archaeology functions.

The explicit concept within archaeology regarding the 'past' revolves around examining material remains generated in the human past. This is an essential element of all archaeology, without which our discipline does not exist. This underlying concept has been consistently present throughout the development of archaeology. Archaeologists primarily focus their studies on prehistoric peoples and their material remains and, despite the potential applications of archaeology to modern studies, rarely do archaeologists venture beyond the historic realm. This basic concept of 'the past' is

clearly central to the following descriptions of archaeology taken from two introductory archaeology texts:

1979 Introductory Text

Scientific laws are of interest not just because they describe the past and present, but because they also describe the future. That is, laws predict events that have not yet occurred...Archaeology, of course, deals largely with past events, so the question arises as to precisely what the archeologist wishes to predict. Haven't all archaeological events already taken place? Is there such a thing as *predicting the past*? As the title of this section suggests, archaeologists *can* (and do) predict the events of the past. Binford (1968b: 271) has reminded us that although the archaeological record is comprised of past events, the knowledge of this record is a contemporary phenomenon... Science as practiced in archaeology predicts events of the past, but these events are new in the sense that they are new to us. (Thomas, 1979, 65-66)

1991 Introductory Text

Archaeology is the 'past tense of cultural anthropology'. Whereas cultural anthropologists will often base their conclusions on the experience of actually living within contemporary communities, archaeologists study past societies primarily through their material remains-the buildings, tools, and other artifacts that constitute what is known as the *material culture* left over from former societies. Nevertheless, one of the most challenging tasks for the archaeologist today is to know how to interpret material culture in human terms. (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 9)

The implicit concept of the 'past' to which archaeology adheres involves the dissociation of the past from the present. I was not only taught that the purpose of archaeology was to examine and illuminate the past as interpreted through material remains, but that the past was separate from me and I could never fully understand it. This separation between observer and observed, or more formally the researcher and the subject, is clearly illustrated within the following statement by Haviland which emphasizes not only material objects but also the impossibility of direct observation:

> Archaeologists, apart from those engaged in the analysis of modern garbage, study things left behind by people who lived in historic or prehistoric times-tools, trash, traces of shelters, and the like. Most of us are familiar with some kind of archaeological material: the coin dug out of the earth, the fragment of an ancient jar, the spear point used by some ancient hunter. The finding and cataloging of such objects is often thought by nonprofessionals to be the chief goal of archaeology. While this was true in the last century, the emphasis today is on using archaeological remains to reconstruct human societies that can no longer be observed firsthand, in order to understand and explain human behavior. (Haviland, 1991, 30)

Most archaeological practitioners become aware of the conflict between viewing the past as ultimately separate and the goal of understanding the past through material remains as they progress through their training. This conflict has resulted in the archaeological establishment of a dynamic and syncratic incorporation of idealism and realism. As in many other disciplines, the tension between 'truth' and 'Truth' permeates archaeology. In the conflict between being told that we are supposed to study the past but at the same time continually reminded that we can never really know it, archaeologists have been placed into the common position of their discipline wishing to achieve what seems impossible. And as in many other disciplines, archaeologists have had to resolve this inherent incompatibility between goals and practice in order to engage in archaeology.

In an attempt to resolve this dichotomy between wanting to know and recognizing the limitations of what we can know, archaeologists utilize science. The scientific perspective has become a means of integrating the explicit and implicit understandings of the past that are presented to archaeologists throughout their archaeological training. This resolution through science has been present throughout the entire development of our discipline, although the explicitness of the negotiating process has been subject to

fluctuation depending on which theoretical orientation has primacy within the discipline at any given time.[4] Clearly though, the consistency of this solution is illustrated in the following quotes by three different archaeologists speaking at two different times:

1979 Thomas

One cardinal principle of archaeology is that one must have a firm grasp on time before turning to the more advanced objectives. That is, archaeologists must know the *when* and the *where* before even considering the *how*, the *who*, the *what*, and especially the *why*. Temporal control generally involves two interrelated processes: dating the remains, then classifying the archaeological objects to reflect these temporal categories. (Thomas, 1979, 139)

1991 Renfrew & Bahn

In order to study the past it is not, rather surprisingly, always essential to know precisely how long ago in years a particular period or event occurred...This idea that something is older (or younger) relative to something else is the basis of *relative dating*. The initial steps in most archaeology research today still depend crucially on relative dating, on the ordering of artifacts, deposits, societies, and events into sequences, earlier before later. Ultimately, however, we want to know the full or absolute age in years before the present of the different parts of the sequence-we need methods of absolute dating (sometimes called chronometric dating). (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 101)

In essence, I was always taught that archaeology is not only the study of material remains, past lifeways, and the relationships between the two, but that it is also the scientific study of the human past. Although recent theoretical shifts within archaeology have resulted in the re-acknowledgement of the humanistic aspects of our discipline, nonetheless, the scientific aspects of archaeology continue to be given high priority and

[4] For example, during the antiquarian and processual periods of archaeology, the negotiations with science were explicit and dominant, while during the speculative and post-processual periods of archaeology, the negotiations with science were relatively implicit and contained.

are emphasized as the following quote illustrates through the authors' choice to dwell on scientific comparisons at some length:

> Since the aim of archaeology is the understanding of humankind, it is a humanistic discipline, a humane study. And since it deals with the human past it is a historical discipline. But it differs from the study of written history-although it uses written history-in a fundamental way. The material the archaeologist finds does not tell us directly what to think...The objects that archaeologists discover...tell us nothing directly in themselves. It is *we* today who have to make sense of these things. In this respect the practice of archaeology is rather like that of the scientist. The scientist collects data (evidence), conducts experiments, formulates a hypothesis (a proposition to account for the data), tests the hypothesis against more data, and then in conclusion devises a model (a description that seems best to summarize the pattern observed in the data). Archaeology is in many ways very like that. The archaeologist has to develop a picture of the past, just as the scientist has to develop a coherent view of the natural world. It is not found ready made. Archaeology, in short, is a science as well as a humanity. That is one of its fascinations as a discipline: it reflects the ingenuity of the modern scientist as well as the modern historian. The technical methods of archaeological science are the most obvious, from radiocarbon dating to studies of food residues in pots. Equally important are scientific methods of analysis, of inference. (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 10)

It is clear that the dominant paradigm of science is the one which archaeology continues to adhere to most closely. This orientation is concisely and explicitly expressed by Thomas, when he states that "I firmly believe that archaeology can, and should, be a science-that is, archaeological inquiry should proceed according to canons of established scientific methods." (1979, vi) Nor is Thomas alone in this belief. In my experience many, if not most, archaeologists would agree with him, which leads us to my next question regarding what the practitioners of archaeology think they are doing.

What do archaeologists think about what they do?

This section of the chapter will be fairly brief, as I have already discussed at length an 'emic' (i.e. an internal perspective) view of archaeology in the previous sections. However, that emic view I have discussed is the one that the discipline uses for the enculturation of its own members. It is also useful to consider descriptions of archaeology that we present to the public and compare these with the previous descriptions of archaeology that we have used among ourselves.

The Society for American Archaeology is one of the largest and most prestigious archaeological organizations in North America. It was formed in 1934 and has more than 6,500 members at present, including professional, student and avocational archaeologists. The activities of the Society for American Archaeology include publications, professional development, programming for archaeologists and the general public, advocacy for archaeological conservation, and the development of public positions and policies regarding archaeology. In the web booklet Archaeology and You, which is available on the internet as part of the Society for American Archaeology's public outreach and educational efforts (http://www.saa.org), the presentation of archaeology is very similar to the previously discussed descriptions of archaeology: "Archaeology is perhaps best thought of as the study of past ways of life. To pursue this study, archaeologists focus on the relationship between the material objects made by past peoples, on the one hand, and the makers' behavior, on the other." (Stuart & McManamon, 1996, 6) The key concepts of material culture, human culture, and the past are clearly present within this public statement.

The next public statement is taken from the general information brochure of the Nova Scotia Archaeology Society, which is a recognized provincial organization in Canada and includes professional and amateur archaeologists as well as laypeople among its membership. "Archaeology is the systematic recovery and examination of material evidence, such as tools, pottery, and buildings, remaining from past human life and culture…Archaeological research is the key to unlocking that information and filling in the missing pieces of our past." (Nova Scotia Archaeology Society, 2000)

This statement clearly contains the same key concepts that were apparent in the previously presented quotes, in that it explicitly mentions material culture, human culture, and the past as the forum for archaeological work. However, it goes a step further in stating explicitly that archaeology is an essential and primary means of examining the past. Although this prioritization of archaeology as a means of assessing the past is both interesting and important, it will not be discussed here. Instead I will return to this concept later in this chapter (see pages 18 and 19).

What do outside observers think archaeology is?

The logical question that develops from 'what do archaeologists think archaeology is?' is 'what do non-archaeologists think archaeology is?' This 'etic' (i.e. an external perspective) view of archaeology works in tandem with the previously discussed emic views, and indeed, it is hardly possible to discuss an internal view without considering the accompanying external view. The essence of the internal view of archaeology has been clearly established in the proceeding sections of this chapter and includes the key concepts of material objects, maker's/user's behavior, the relationships

between objects and behavior, the past, and science as a dominant paradigm for inquiry. The following section of this chapter will discuss what outside observers consider the essence and key concepts of archaeology.

A very basic presentation of archaeology is contained within the Oxford Paperback Dictionary of English: "**Archaeology** (ar-ki-**ol**-oji) *noun* (Amer. **archeology**) the scientific study of civilizations through their material remains." (Pollard, 1994, 37) Although this brief description does not include all of the previously established elements of archaeology, nonetheless it touches on material objects and science as being key concepts. While the inclusion of 'civilizations' is a departure from the emic view of archaeology, it is often utilized as a frequent and prevalent substitution for 'behavior' or 'lifeways' in descriptions of archaeology by laypeople. It has been my experience that this emphasis on 'civilizations', while uncomfortable for many archaeologists, is nevertheless accepted as a common part of the public view and is merely considered as the equivalent of the term 'societies' that were used in the previous emic statements.

The magazine National Geographic is the official journal of the National Geographic Society, based in Washington, DC, and is a generally respected publication. This magazine both targets the general public as its desired audience and focuses explicitly on the public presentation of science. As a well-funded, well regarded, professionally produced publication that is available and extremely accessible to the general public, this magazine is very influential in defining and shaping public views. In a 1996 article, "The Dawn of Humans: Neandertals" (Gore, 1996, 2-35), National Geographic presents a public view of archaeology. National Geographic is immediately explicit that archaeology is integral to this article, as can be seen from their contents page

listing, "2…Neandertals *Archaeology proves these ancient humans to be intelligent hunters and compassionate beings*." However, the author of the article, Rick Gore, uses the labels 'archaeologist' and 'scientist' interchangeably throughout the descriptions of the European excavations and subsequent analysis of Neandertal remains. While this article is not primarily focused on a description of general archaeology, it does discuss specific archaeological excavations and procedures in regards to Neandertals and presents the key concepts of archaeology; a focus on material remains, the maker's/user's behaviors, and the utilization of science as a dominant paradigm.

This interchangeability of 'archaeologist' and 'scientist' can also be seen in a recent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) web article. In the article, "Battle Over 9,000-year-old Bones Goes To Court", there are five referrals to 'scientist' or 'researcher' as compared to one referral to 'archaeologist'. (CBC, 2001) Although it is clear that the article refers to archaeology, as can be seen in their initial statement "when the bones were first discovered, they inspired headlines around the world because an archaeologist said the skull didn't look like a native American" (CBC, 2001), this article effectively co-mingles the realm of archaeologist and scientist in the public eye.

While this pervasive identification of archaeology with science, which is both emic and etic, has been positively presented in the previous examples, it can also have negative connotations as in the following examples.

Armand Minthorn is a Board of Trustees member and religious leader with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. In 1996, human remains emerged from a riverbank near Kennewick, Washington. These remains are commonly known as 'Kennewick Man' or 'The Ancient One'. In a statement regarding the

controversy over the disposition of these human remains that was posted on the Internet in 1996, Minthorn predominantly refers to archaeologists as 'scientists'. For example there are six referrals to 'scientists' compared to one referral to 'archaeology', which is included in the context of naming the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. (Minthorn, 1996, 1-2)

During his public statement regarding archaeology, Minthorn also states that:

> Scientist have dug up and studied Native Americans for decades. We view this practice as desecration of the body and a violation of our most deeply-held religious beliefs. Today thousands of native human remains sit on the shelves of museums and institutions, waiting for the day when they can return to the earth, and waiting for the day that scientists and others pay them the respect they are due. (1996, 1-2)

Within this statement, the key concepts of archaeology are again touched on. Material remains, the past, and science as a framework for activity are all included, as they have been in the previously discussed statements regarding archaeology. The primary differences contained within this view of archaeology are in regards to the explicit introduction of museums, thereby implying display and storage, as an integral aspect of archaeological practice and the utilization of voice in a dominant mode of disapproval.

To conclude this discussion of etic views of archaeology, as well as to continue exploring the negative image of archaeology established through the previous example, I would like to return to an examination of dictionary definitions of archaeology. Although archaeology is defined in every common English dictionary, it has no parallel definition within Cree dictionaries. For instance, in neither The Student's Dictionary of Literary Plains Cree (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1998) nor the Alberta Elders' Cree Dictionary (LeClaire and Cardinal, 1998) is there a word for 'archaeology' or 'archaeologist'. While

the complete omission of any words within an Aboriginal language to express the concept of archaeology is a potential indication of the negativity with which Cree people regard the discipline, a much stronger indication of negativity is provided by my personal experiences. During my Masters field work at Alexis First Nation in Alberta I was repeated asked if I was going to dig up graves (which was very negatively viewed) or find dinosaurs (which was viewed quite positively). Specifically, after identifying myself as an archaeologist, I was called names such as 'bone-digger', 'grave robber', and 'witch doctor'. People viewed my archaeological activities with approval only after it was made clear that I was also an Aboriginal person.

One reason for the disapproval some Native Americans express towards archaeology, which explicitly emerges from the previous examples presented, is the co-mingling of archaeology and science. As the previous etic examples demonstrated, the conflation of archaeology with science is not only a common conception within the public eye but is also encouraged and developed by archaeologists themselves. Although I cannot offer a definitive reason for the negative view of science held by Aboriginal people, I can speculate that this mistrust comes from the self-presentation of science as the most valid means of gaining knowledge and from previous experiences in which science supported political agendas.

The perception that archaeology is science is not the only reason for a negative view of archaeology. A second, but equally powerful, reason for reaching a negative view of archaeology is contained within the presentation of archaeology as a superior means of connecting to the past. Archaeologists clearly give priority to archaeology and science as the most valid means of examining the past as the following quote graphically illustrates:

> For as long as they have been on earth, people have needed answers to questions about who they are, where they came from, and why they act the way they do. Throughout most of their history, though, people had no extensive and reliable body of data about their own behavior and background, and so they relied on myth and folklore for their answers to these questions. Anthropology, over the last 200 years, has emerged as a more scientific approach to answering these questions. (Haviland, 1991, 6)

Views like this, and the previously discussed quote from the Nova Scotia Archaeological Society (see page 14), not only dismiss oral history as a legitimate means of knowing the past, but also specifically position the development of scientific archaeological inquiry into part of an inevitable progression towards knowledge.

Although the previously discussed perceptions contribute to a negative image of archaeology, the most powerful and dominant reason for a confrontational and hostile view of archaeology by Aboriginal people is contained within the core essence of archaeology. All archaeological theories and methods are based on the cultural viewpoint from which archaeology has been developed: Western thought. The problem of this ethnocentrism is at the heart of my thesis.

Why am I dissatisfied with, and disengaged from, archaeological practice?

The previous descriptions-of-and-explanations-for-archaeology, which I have presented and examined throughout this introductory chapter, did not satisfy me when I was an undergraduate student. They still do not satisfy me as a graduate student. Early on in my archaeological training I realized that as a Cree woman I shared a great many of the same perceptions and concerns with archaeology that other Aboriginal people have expressed. Therefore, I could not, or would not, fully engage with archaeology as it has been generally practiced within European culture. Nor am I alone in this essential

disengagement with our discipline. Obviously other Aboriginal and non-aboriginal archaeologists are grappling with the same disenfranchisement.

The process of disenfranchisement and attempted reintegration could be clearly seen within the general archaeological community that attended the 1999 Chacmool conference in Calgary, AB. This was the 32nd annual conference hosted by the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary and the established theme was 'Indigenous People and Archaeology'. Many of the presentations and personal discussions at this conference wrestled with the issues that I have discussed within this chapter.

As well, a similar process can be seen within the academic discipline most obviously in two recent publications, Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground (Swidler et al, 1997) and At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada (Nicholas and Andrews, 1997). Both of these 1997 publications contain explicit calls for collaboration and reconciliation between Aboriginal people and archaeology. A similar call can be seen in the public web booklet of the Society for American Archaeology, Archaeology and You, where the Society states that "this conflict of interests (between Native Americans and archaeologists) is difficult to reconcile neatly, for it involves deep-seated values and beliefs as well as the possible resentments of those long subjected to "study" by outsiders but deprived of knowledge of the results or the benefits of those studies. Clearly this problem is a challenging one; it is hoped it can be approached with compromise and compassion and solved." (Stuart & McManamon, 1996, 22)

Although I am not alone in the identification of disengagement between Aboriginal people and archaeology, expressing my personal dissatisfactions with archaeology placed me into a potential conflict that was as essential as the previously discussed directives that are inherent in archaeology regarding the 'past'. Practicing archaeology while adhering to an Aboriginal worldview seem like mutually exclusive concepts that leave an Aboriginal individual little scope for possible synthesis. As an Aboriginal woman it was necessary for me to attempt a resolution of this conflict in order to practice archaeology. Therefore, in the next section of my introductory chapter I will discuss how it was primarily my preference for Aboriginal cultural paradigms over Western cultural paradigms that was causing my dissatisfaction with traditional archaeology rather than any desire to withdraw from the discipline of archaeology itself.

What is the value of archaeology?

In order to resolve the potential conflict between an archaeological worldview and an Aboriginal worldview, I chose to realign archaeological theory and practice fundamentally. My Masters thesis and the field research on which it is based are conceptualized and practiced in such a way as to be consistent with both an Indigenous worldview based on circular paradigms and 'normal' archaeological standards.

In this manner I am exercising the creativity that Renfrew & Bahn identify as an essential aspect of archaeology, while still maintaining the meticulous and exacting nature of archaeology (emphasis added):

> Archaeology is partly the discovery of the treasures of the past, partly the meticulous work of the scientific analyst, **partly the exercise of the creative imagination**...But it is also the painstaking task of interpretation so that we come to understand what these things mean for the human

> story. Archaeology, then, is both a physical activity out in the field, and an intellectual pursuit in the study or laboratory...archaeology is an exciting quest-the quest for knowledge about ourselves and our human past. (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991, 9)

However, this combination of creativity and exacting standards is not an exclusively archaeological value. Both are highly valued within the Aboriginal community as they are necessary components within an oral tradition. The recipient of an oral history must exercise both creativity in presentation and meticulousness in retention. The integration of both rigidity and flexibility result in a dynamic, original composition that retains the essential elements demanded by tradition.

As well, I am excited by and engaged with the concept of an archaeologist as a bridge between two sets of disparate elements as presented by Stuart & McManamon (emphasis added):

> ...their (archaeologists) **analysis acts as a bridge between the two sets of things**: one an invisible realm that includes human ways of survival, religious beliefs, family structure, and social organization; the other a visible, tangible accumulation of material remains such as trash, tools, ornaments, and buildings. The latter group provides the raw materials for understanding the former through logical reasoning...(archaeology) is, ultimately, a problem-solving science that recovers and analyzes data that reflect the vast diversity of human societies and human beings... (Stuart & McManamon, 1996, 7)

However, I have extended their interpretation of archaeology as a bridge and a problem-solving science beyond their original intent. I have applied archaeology as a bridge between two distinct worldviews, Western and Aboriginal, and I have synthesized elements from both traditions to solve the problem of how to practice a truly Aboriginal archaeology. The opportunity for synthesis is based on elements that are found as complexly realized within Aboriginal thought as within archaeological theory. The metaphor of bridging elements and the realization of an individual as a bridge is common

within the realm of Aboriginal spirituality, and can be explicitly and clearly seen within the role of a medicine person who mediates between a spiritual community and a physical community.

How can I accomplish integration and resolution?

Now I realize that my question has never been 'What is archaeology?' but instead has always been 'What is Western archaeology?' With that recasting of the question it becomes clear that the view of archaeology which has been presented in this chapter is incomplete without the development of an alternative Aboriginal archaeology which includes both theory and method. Therefore, within the remainder of my thesis I will focus on the presentation of how I both recast archaeological theory and resituated archaeological methods into an Aboriginal framework. I will discuss how that paradigmatic realignment has affected specific archaeological ethics, methods, data analysis, and overall goals as well as considering personal perspectives on a variety of other topics that are related to archaeology.

Chapter 2: Circular Research Model

Throughout the first chapter of my thesis, I have focused my discussion on how archaeology has been traditionally based within a Western framework. I have examined both how the archaeological discipline views itself and how archaeology is taught as an academic discipline. By doing this I have followed the lead of Thomas Kuhn, who stated in his classic work, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, that "when examining normal science...we shall want finally to describe that research as a strenuous and devoted attempt to force nature into the conceptual boxes supplied by professional education." (Kuhn, 1996, 5) I have not only accepted Kuhn's premise that science is an attempt to explain 'nature' (i.e. the world) through utilizing a preset conceptual viewpoint, but also that 'normal science' is both shaped and bounded by its practitioner's cultural paradigms. Within my thesis, which focuses on the development of Aboriginal archaeology, accepting that science utilizes cultural paradigms consequently necessitates making explicit both the Western 'conceptual boxes' that have been active within traditional archaeology and the Aboriginal 'conceptual boxes' that I am instead choosing to draw upon. Therefore, in Chapter Two I will now primarily focus on developing an understanding of traditional Aboriginal paradigms which will parallel the structure of Chapter One, while in Chapter Three I will undertake a more direct comparison of specific Western and Aboriginal paradigms as they relate to archaeology.

An animate archaeological record

The key principle that I first identified when I began to explore the underlying paradigms of traditional Western archaeology was the fundamental way in which the archaeological record was, and is, perceived by Western archaeologists. In standard archaeological practice the archaeological record is viewed as an inanimate 'stage' upon which the archaeologist acts. In my experience, most practicing archaeologists would agree with the statement that the archaeological record is not 'alive'. However, this statement is based on a Western worldview that defines life primarily as "the capacity for activity, growth, and change in animals and plants that ends at death." (Pollard, 1994, 462) An equally valid, though completely incompatible, statement is that the archaeological record is 'alive'.

Again I am drawing on the work of Thomas Kuhn, specifically his statement that "if new theories are called forth to resolve anomalies in the relation of an existing theory to nature, then the successful new theory must somewhere permit predictions that are different from those derived from its predecessor. That difference could not occur if the two were logically compatible. In the process of being assimilated, the second must displace the first." (Kuhn, 1996, 97) The theories that are currently utilized within archaeology do not permit the statement that the archaeological record is animate. To attempt to state this specific relationship between theory and nature results in an anomaly within the existing archaeological framework, one that Western paradigms can not allow to be expressed because this is not a relationship that is logically compatible with the already recognized relations between theory and nature. While I am not advocating that Aboriginal archaeological theory should or could displace Western archaeological theory

in general as Kuhn prescribes, I will clearly state that within the specifics of my thesis Aboriginal archaeological theory **has** displaced Western archaeological theory.

I will now turn my attention to the statement that the archaeological record is animate. While this is an impossible statement within dominant Western paradigms, within an Aboriginal framework it is an entirely possible and plausible statement. The views that the archaeological record are inanimate or animate are diametrically opposed to each other and can not exist concurrently, yet within the paradigmatic framework that each statement rises from, each is an entirely defensible proposition. Furthermore, although I will not be discussing this concept at any length I would like to point out that the archaeological record is only one of many powerful non-human animate entities that are recognized by Aboriginal peoples as individuals with whom humans need to negotiate a relationship.[5]

I realize that the statement that the archaeological record is animate needs to be substantiated. I will be drawing this substantiation primarily from the Cree language for several reasons: this is the Aboriginal language that I am the most familiar with and I am a Cree woman. I am aware that the argument could be made that not all Aboriginal languages express the same concepts and therefore to consider only one language is insufficient. However, drawing on a single Aboriginal language is adequate for my purposes because I wish to utilize it primarily as being representative of a concept that is in complete and utter opposition to concepts expressed by Western academic languages.

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[5] It is widely recognized within cultural anthropology that non-human animate entities are part of the worldview of Native people. The concept of non-human animate entities and their relationships with Native people has been the subject of much study, a primary example of which would be Adrian Tanner's Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters.

When utilizing Cree, specifically Plains Cree, as the means through which the statement that the archaeological record is animate is validated, I am not only drawing on the technical aspects of Cree, but also on the cultural aspects of the language. As Freda Ahenakew, a Plains Cree speaker from Atahkakohp, Saskatchewan, points out,

> Stories are an important part of the Cree way of life, and each story in turn illustrates various aspects of Cree culture. Some stories offer an explicit view of the old times…In other stories, the Cree way of life is reflected less directly but it is interwoven in all texts. There is always concern for the children, respect for the elders, and laughter shared with those who can laugh about their own misfortunes. (168, Ahenakew, 1995)

When I draw on Cree in this way I am basing my utilization on the generally accepted view that languages not only express important cultural values, but are also a tangible embodiment of essential cultural worldviews. While this is a significant point, I will be examining specific worldviews that are expressed by Cree language speakers, when speaking in either Cree or English, in greater depth in the following section. One major reason for using this language within my thesis is that "the Cree language is the largest single member of the Algonquian family and is the most widely spoken across Canada. It is the most prominent indigenous language spoken and taught in the province of Alberta". (Hunter, Karpinski & Mulder, 1994, iii)

> Within the Cree language generally, and Plains Cree specifically,
>
> there are many differences between English and Cree…Here are a few examples of differences in Cree:
> 1. The sound system and the writing system.
> 2. All nouns are either animate or inanimate.
> 3. There is no distinction between he or she (as the dialect example above illustrates)…each example translates as a full sentence in English meaning 'She/he likes it'…
> 4. Verbs are classified in terms of transitivity and animacy. (Hunter, Karpinski & Mulder, 1994, iii)

In my view it is completely necessary to identify the archaeological record as animate. This is because in a Cree–based archaeology

> nouns in Cree fall into two classes: ANIMATE and INANIMATE...The animate class covers nouns for all living creatures. This group also includes such objects as rings, pants, stockings, stoves, pots, flour and stones. Since such things seem lifeless to speakers of English, animate nouns for such items create confusion in the classroom...There is no easy answer to the question of **why** such nouns are animate: they simply **are** animate in the mind of the Cree speaker. (Ahenakew, 1995, 16-18)

Defining the archaeological record as inanimate or animate is not only necessitated by the structure of Cree, but it is also essential within my development of Aboriginal archaeology since the conceptual view of the archaeological record as inanimate has formed the fundamental base for all Western archaeological inquiry. Although I have already shown that there are no existing Cree words for 'archaeology', 'archaeologist', or 'archaeological record', I am not arguing that there cannot be Cree words for these Western concepts. However, within this thesis I will not attempt to 'coin' Cree terms for any of these words, instead I will only utilize English terms that distinguish the archaeological record as animate and female.

I am basing my decision to define the archaeological record as animate and female on several related points. First, most Cree words that could relate to archaeological activities, for example 'digging', are classified as verbs that refer to animate actors. (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1998, 254) Second, Cree terms that could relate to the materials that are found in the archaeological record, such as 'stones', are classified as animate nouns. (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1998, 386) While these are influential reasons for considering the archaeological record to be animate, the strongest reason for this

classification of the archaeological record as both animate and female is based on my personal observations.

In conversations I have heard and engaged in with other Aboriginal people, whatever force provides you with what you need to exist is generally referred to as female. In Cree, while it is true that there are no terms for gender, terms for male and female roles such as 'mother' and 'father' do exist. (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1998, 272, 327) For example, when Aboriginal people speak in English or Cree about subsistence activities such as hunting, trapping, or plant gathering, then the earth which provides these materials is generally called a mother. (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1998, 327) In this sense then, I am identifying the archaeological record as the force that supplies the subsistence without which archaeology could not exist. Therefore the archaeological record is our mother, a term which implies both animacy and femininity in English and Cree. [6] However, in pursuing this classification I went further than simply identifying the archaeological record as female and animate. I then developed this view into the following statement that is based on Cree paradigms and provides me with a strong ethical base for my archaeological work. The archaeological record is animate and it is my obligation to establish a reciprocal, 'right' relationship with her.

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[6] Although the Cree language contains no pronouns to indicate male or female, and nouns are classified by animacy rather than by gender, the recognition of appropriate maleness and femaleness in individuals and activities is still an important cultural categorization. Furthermore, gender is often used to separate mixed groups into the appropriate sub-groups. This is another reason why I have personified the archaeological record. As I pointed out in the preface this thesis is explicitly woman-centered, which is largely based on my self-identification as a woman, thus it is more culturally acceptable for me not only to work with other women but to identify the non-human persons I work with as sharing my femaleness.

The medicine wheel within Aboriginal culture

In this section of Chapter Two, I will now examine certain Aboriginal cultural concepts that are pertinent to the development of a circular research model for archaeological inquiry. In general, within the context of my discussion Aboriginal cultural concepts will be expressed in English. There are several reasons for the use of English as the medium for this discussion: it is the language I am most fluent in, it is the language that my program and thesis are based in, and it is the language that most people have used when speaking to me. However, I need to emphasize that these concepts originate within Aboriginal culture, regardless of the language in which they are currently being expressed.

The overarching concept I am going to discuss is the medicine wheel, which I have sub-divided for clarity into two discussions regarding circularity and the number four. For the rest of this chapter, although I will continue to give priority to Cree speakers I will also be drawing on a wide variety of Aboriginal cultural traditions as expressed through cultural practitioners or outside observers. As in Chapter One, my voice within this section of my thesis will be primarily that of a commentator. This format is again necessary in order to establish an understanding of traditional Aboriginal cultural paradigms that parallels the understanding of traditional archaeological paradigms that was developed in Chapter One.

Before beginning the discussion of either circularity or the number four, I should explain why I have chosen to use the term 'medicine wheel'. I am aware that Ellerby, among others, has made the arguments that the use of the term 'medicine wheel' is linguistically inappropriate and that the use of a 'medicine wheel' diagram to convey

Aboriginal cultural philosophies is misleading and homogenizing. He has argued that 'medicine wheels' have no prehistoric parallels within Aboriginal languages or cultures and the use of 'medicine wheel' imagery by Aboriginal organizations, institutions, and academics reflect an attempt to create a false 'pan-Aboriginality' through the use of a post-colonial cultural invention. (Ellerby, 2001, 112-119) However, I disagree with this argument. It has been my experience that the phrase 'medicine wheel' is the term most commonly used by living cultural practitioners (i.e. Elders) when referring to Aboriginal philosophical concepts. If I chose to implicitly or explicitly state that the term 'medicine wheel' was incorrect, it would be not only rude of me but it would violate a Cree traditional value of having respect for my elders (*kisteyim,* to have respect for Noun Animate). Pre-colonial and post-colonial expressions of circularity in Aboriginal cultures can be seen in the toy hoops, stone medicine wheels, and circular architecture which occur throughout the archaeological record in North and South America. Furthermore, culture is not static nor is it something that remains isolated in some ideal pristine state. How a culture refers to or describes its base concepts may change over time without invalidating the maintenance of the concept itself; therefore I see no dilemma in accepting the use of this term to describe Aboriginal philosophy. And finally, by using the term 'medicine wheel', I have deliberately chosen not to place academics in the position of authority over what is 'authentic culture', rather I have decided that the people whose culture it is are the authoritative voice to which I wish to listen.

To begin the discussion of the medicine wheel, I will first touch on what many Native people feel is the essential difference between Western and Aboriginal worldviews. Marie Eshkibok-Trudeau, an Anishinabe woman from the Wikwemikong

Unceded First Nation, describes Western worldviews as "linear vision, which is seeing and interpreting with a 'straight ahead vision' or a hundred and eighty-degree vision." (Eshkibok-Trudeau, 2000, 13) She contrasts this Western 'linear vision' with Aboriginal worldviews that incorporate

> vision questing or seeing through a three-hundred and sixty-degree vision, (as) a complete way of seeing or viewing the world. If one experiences and understands the relationship to the natural world, its physical reality as well as its spiritual being, then it is a total way of seeing. Although many myths and legends have been recorded, written down and studied, they have not been understood by those who function with linear vision. (Eshkibok-Trudeau, 2000, 14)

I need to point out that the concept of a medicine wheel is so essential within Aboriginal thought that it forms the base through which comparisons are expressed. The visual representation of a medicine wheel is not removable from the discussion of Aboriginal paradigms; rather it is the framework through which the discussion is entered. This essential nature of the medicine wheel is not unexpected, as traditionally it is one of the ultimate visual representations of Aboriginal thought: embodying all aspects of the world including spiritual, cultural, physical and intellectual conceptions. The following discussions of circularity and the number four are not the only understandings of Aboriginal thought that the medicine wheel could generate, indeed the medicine wheel is a multi-layered and complex symbol which reveals itself slowly to each individual. However, for the purposes of my thesis a very limited discussion of the medicine wheel is most appropriate.

Circularity

The medicine wheel visually embodies one of the fundamental paradigms within an Aboriginal worldview, the concept of circularity. As Don Rutledge, a Plains Cree pipe

holder from California, explains, "all Native American ceremonies take place in a sacred circle whether it is considered the circle of the universe, the world, the area in which we live, or a small circle of people." (Rutledge, 1992, 37) The idea that circularity is not only a tangible physical or visual effect, but is also an intangible spiritual fundamental that impacts all areas of an individual's daily lived experience is further clarified by Paula Gunn Allen, an academically trained Laguna Pueblo and Sioux Native from California. In keeping with a common Aboriginal teaching style, which relates cultural concepts through the medium of personal experiences, Allen discusses circularity from the perspective of both a personal experience and an academic experience when she states that,

> when I was small, my mother often told me that animals, insects, and plants are to be treated with the kind of respect one customarily accords to high-status adults. 'Life is a circle, and everything has its place in it,' she would say. That's how I met the sacred hoop, which has been an integral part of my life, though I didn't know to call it that until the early 1970s when I read John G. Neihardt" rendering of the life story of Oglala Lakota Holy Man Black Elk in *Black Elk Speaks*. (Allen, 1992, 1)

The intangible spiritual aspects of circularity not only impact all areas of an individual's lived experience but are also intimately connected to an individual's lived physicality. The concept of circularity or cycles extends from visual representations to daily life to bodily experience. The paradigm of circularity is therefore closely tied to the recognition of bodily circularity, most prominently through the realization that the cycling of a woman's body directly expresses the underlying Aboriginal cultural paradigm of circularity which is highly regarded and greatly valued. As Robin Melting Tallow, a Western Canadian Native woman writer, explicitly states

> the circle has neither beginning nor end. It has always been. The circle represents the journey of human existence. It connects us to our past and to our future. Within the periphery of the circle lies the key to all Native philosophy, values, and traditions. All things living depend on its equilibrium...The women are the keepers of the circle. They have the power to nurture and to replenish the life forces. Through our writing, we are maintaining our Nativeness...we are writing the circle. (Melting Tallow, 1990, 294)

Through the movement in her statement from abstract circularity to specific circularity, Melting Tallow, like Allen, demonstrates another common Aboriginal teaching style, that of integrating philosophy with action. First Melting Tallow narrates her understanding of the overarching concept, the medicine wheel or the circle, and then she personalizes that concept through her statement of direct action, writing.

Francis Whiskeyjack, a Cree Elder from Saddle Lake First Nation, Alberta, eloquently and concisely sums up all of the previously discussed concepts regarding circularity within Aboriginal culture when he states that,

> I hope that I've explained just some of the teachings of the medicine wheel, always though...It always goes back to relationships...We are related to everything that is around us...There are more teachings on the medicine wheel and I'm learning more everyday. I'm not saying that everything I'm saying is true. I still have a lot of things to learn...In the beginning I did not understand the wheel like I understand it now. It's taken a long time for me to identify with it...These teachings are pretty deep, but the more you study the wheel, the more you begin to understand it. (Whiskeyjack, 2000, 8)

Whiskeyjack integrates lived experience, philosophical viewpoint, and cultural values into a related whole in this statement. He exemplifies not only the previously noted Aboriginal teaching styles of relating cultural concepts through personal experiences and integrating philosophy with action, but also the central Aboriginal values of humility, relatedness and individuality. Throughout Whiskeyjack's narrative, his teaching style embodies the Cree cultural values 'to be humble', (*tapahteyimiso*) and 'to have kinship'

(*itahkomo*). As well, he clarifies that circularity is not only understood differently by each individual but that every person expresses circularity within his or her

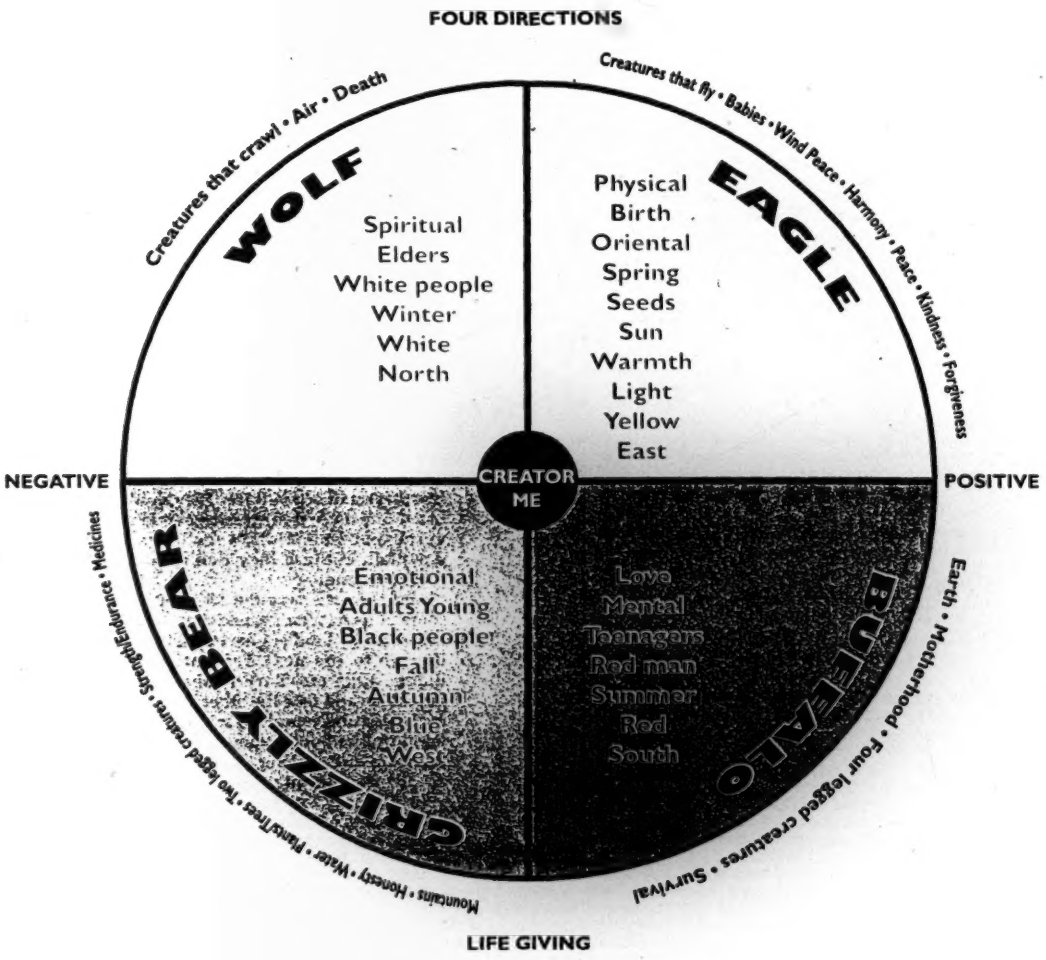

Figure 1: Medicine Wheel by Francis Whiskeyjack

Please note that the original image was in color: Eagle section in yellow, Buffalo section in red, Grizzly Bear section in green, Wolf section in white.

(6-7, Whiskeyjack, 2000)

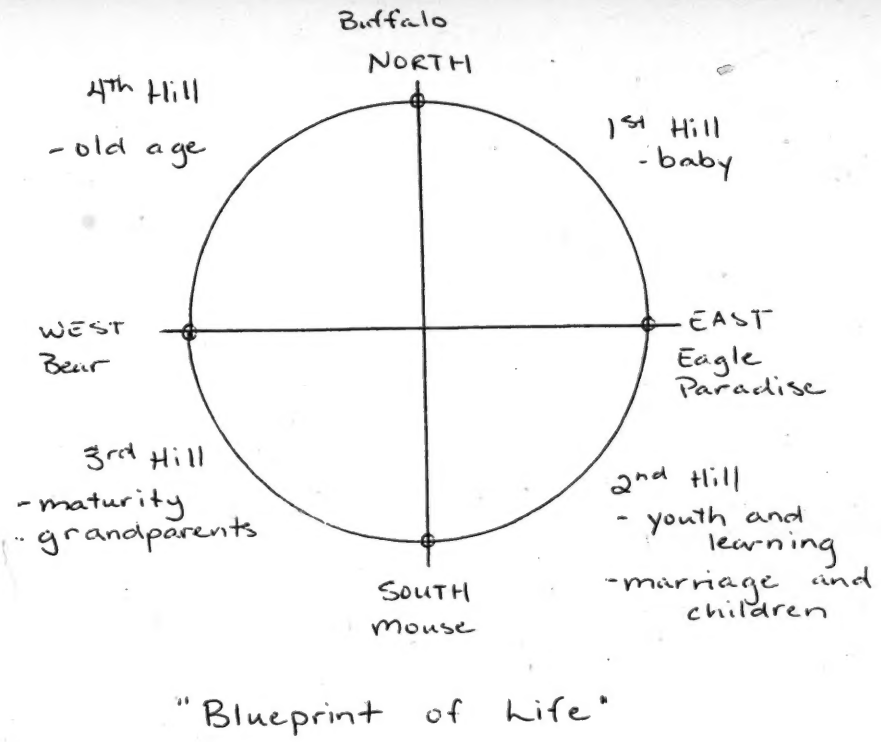

Figure 2: Medicine Wheel by John Stonechild

Drawn by Tara Million after an original image created by John Stonechild, Elder in Residence at the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta.

(Personal communication, Stonechild, 1999)

life in a unique and intimate manner.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section of the discussion with a return to the visual elements of circularity. Because I have postulated that the medicine wheel is not only central to any discussion of Aboriginal paradigms but also forms the framework through which such a discussion is entered, it is necessary to present visual examples of medicine wheels in tandem with the more abstract discussion of cultural concepts. The medicine wheels in Figure One and Figure Two clearly embody the underlying Aboriginal paradigms of circularity and relatedness that have been discussed throughout this section of Chapter Two as well as providing us with a visual introduction to the next

discussion on the number four. Furthermore, both these medicine wheels were created as teaching wheels and are therefore ideally suited for inclusion in this discussion. Whiskeyjack created his teaching wheel for an Aboriginal newspaper supplement, "Buffalo Spirit" in Windspeaker, Volume 18, No. 2, that was focused on providing traditional spiritual guidance, while John Stonechild, an Elder in Residence at the University of Alberta, created his teaching wheel during a class lecture that was focused on explaining traditional Aboriginal cultural values.

The number four

The second concept that I will discuss in relationship to the medicine wheel is the number four. As can be clearly seen from the previous examples, within the visual form of the medicine wheel the concept of four is centrally situated. All drawn representations of the medicine wheel that I have encountered incorporate the sub-division of the circle into four quadrants as an essential element of a traditional Aboriginal medicine wheel. The concept of four equal parts forms another fundamental Aboriginal paradigm that the medicine wheel embodies and that works in tandem with the previously discussed paradigm of circularity.

As Rutledge briefly states, "numbers have always played a significant part in Native American life…Four is one of the most sacred numbers used by Native Americans…Many aspects of life are seen in terms of four: the four elements of the universe: the four directions, seasons, and races." (Rutledge, 1992, 32) Whiskeyjack elaborates both on the spiritual aspects of the number four within the medicine wheel and on the physical representations of the number four that are symbolized by the four quadrants in the following quote:

> For centuries Aboriginal people have used the four directions of the medicine wheel as a tool for learning and teaching. For the past 12 years, Elder and spiritual advisor, Francis Whiskeyjack, has used the medicine wheel as a guide and as a tool to help others...In his own words, this is his interpretation: I'm not saying this is the only way to do the medicine wheel, but this is the way I do mine...Within the circle is the four quadrants or areas. A lot of people know them as the four directions. The number four has many significant meanings for the Aboriginal people. Within the four directions there is all the sacred teachings of four...In the universe there are four directions...There are four winds; four seasons...four races of people...four types of creature that breathe...There are four elements on earth...So this is the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual areas in the medicine wheel. Everything needs to depend on the other directions within these four quadrants...The medicine wheel is also about relationships...There has to be balance in the four quadrants. Everything in the wheel has a relationship with each other. There is no harmony if all or one of these is not balanced. (Whiskeyjack, 2000, 6)

Within Whiskeyjack's statement the symbolic concept of four leads to the underlying philosophical concepts of balance and relationship. The tangible physicality of four translates into the intangible fundamental of balancing relationships in harmony, in the same way that the tangible physicality of circularity translated into an intangible fundamental of relatedness. The concept of four is taught in the same way as the concept of circularity was taught: by relating cultural values through personal experience, by linking spiritual elements to physical life, by integrating philosophy and action, and by incorporating specific Aboriginal values into the teaching style of the instructor.

It has also been my personal experience that the number four is clearly an important organizing principle within Aboriginal communities. During my fieldwork for this thesis at Alexis First Nation, Alberta, the concept of four emerged in several ways. At this point I will discuss two specific instances where the number four occurred during my fieldwork.

Martha Letandre, a Stoney woman who resided at Alexis First Nation, was a health services youth worker at the Alexis Health Center. I had placed posters at key locations on the Alexis Reserve (i.e. the band office, the health center, the store, and the school) advertising volunteer places that were available for Alexis teenagers during my archaeological work at Alexis. Martha Letandre called me on June 24th, 1999, in response to these posters and wanted to place four students with me for summer work experience. During our first discussion she told me that four was an important number for Native people and that was why she specifically wanted to sponsor four youth to work with me. (Personal communication, Martha Letandre, 1999)

The second instance of four within my fieldwork occurred during an interview I conducted with an Elder at Alexis First Nation, Florastine Alexis. During my first season of fieldwork, and prior to active excavation, I interviewed four Elders at Alexis as part of my preliminary work on site locating. During her interview on July 23, 1999, Florastine Alexis showed me a picture of the medicine wheel that had four human arms forming the spokes of the quadrants. She explained that the four arms symbolized the four races of people that are recognized within the circle (i.e. white, red, black and yellow people). Both Florastine and her brother, Fred Alexis, considered this visual representation of the medicine wheel an important thing for me to see. Indeed, they were very insistent that I take note of the picture and photograph it extensively. (Personal communication, Florastine Alexis, 1999)

To conclude this discussion of the number four I am going to return to the quotes from Rutledge and Whiskeyjack that began this section. In both quotes they stated firmly that the number four was not only an Aboriginal concept, but that it was a concept that

had always been present in Aboriginal culture. While I cannot speak to the truth or falsehood of 'always', nor would I wish to even if I felt that I could, I will briefly consider a historical source as academic validation of the claim to a long standing tradition of the number four being significant within Aboriginal culture. The Myths of the New World: A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America, first published in 1876, is an early ethnographic account of the Aboriginal people of North America by Daniel Brinton. In regard to numbers, Brinton states that "only one of them, the FOUR, has noteworthy prominence in the myths of the red race...this is so marked and so universal...(it) must take its rise from some essential relation of man to nature, everywhere prominent, everywhere the same. It is found in the *adoration of the cardinal points*." (Brinton, 1968, 84) While much of this statement, and the following quote by Brinton, can be disregarded as a product of his time and cultural perspective Brinton does bring up one point that I find interesting. In his speculation regarding why the number four is important, Brinton argues that

> why these numbers were chosen rather than others has not been clearly explained...their sacredness is so wide-spread, so nigh universal in all times and places, that any explanation, to be valid, must rest on some equally universal relations either of man or of mind...for the *four* in certain obligatory relations of the individual to his environment... (Brinton, 1968, 83-84)

Brinton clearly and explicitly relates the number four to relationships. He strongly argues that the relationship of the individual to the environment forms the base for the importance of the number four. However, Brinton seems to define 'environment' in a narrow and purely nature-based sense. The above mentioned point that I found interesting is that when the definition of 'environment' is expanded to include both the natural world and the world of human relationships, it seems that Brinton's designation of the number

four as a base for obligatory relationships is in accord with Whiskeyjack's description of the number four as a base for harmonious relationships.

The final point I am going to discuss regarding Brinton can be found in the following quote. In this statement Brinton sets the stage for what is a very tentative attempt on my part to demonstrate a linkage between the paradigms I utilized as a Cree researcher and the paradigms that the Stoney (and Cree) community in which I worked utilized. In regards to the number four, Brinton briefly states that the "simplest form is that which alone appears among the Algonkins and Dakotas. They both traced their lives back to four ancestors, personages concerned in various ways with the first things of time, not rightly distinguished as men or gods, but very positively identified with the four winds." (Brinton, 1968, 94) As previously discussed in this chapter, the Cree language belongs to the 'Algonkin' family, (Hunter, Karpinski & Mulder, 1994, iii) while the Stoney language is recognized as originating in the 'Dakotas'. (A. Hungry Wolf and B. Hungry Wolf, 1989, 51; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001; Waldman, 1999, 27; Personal communication, Chief Francis Alexis, 1999)

Although I do not want to disregard the differences between Cree and Stoney, or to create an artificial 'pan-Aboriginality', I need to state clearly that I am conducting this discussion in a manner that parallels the previous discussion regarding the archaeological discipline. As I have not focused on individual practitioners or theoretical orientations within archaeology, I am not focusing on individual Aboriginal cultures. Rather I am concentrating on the fundamental paradigms that underlie **all** Aboriginal thought in the same way as I looked at the fundamental paradigms that underlie **all** Western archaeological thought.

I am also aware that the argument could be made that I am imposing paradigms on a research community in the same manner as a Western scholar. It is possible that others could argue that because I was an admittedly Cree academic using Cree paradigms as the basis for my research there was an unequal relationship between me and the predominantly Stoney community at Alexis First Nation. To refute this argument here, I am putting forward the proposition that Cree and Stoney cultures have fundamentally similar paradigms, including the previously discussed understandings of circularity and the number four as well as the overarching worldview expressed through the medicine wheel. As well, I will further argue that both Cree and Stoney cultural practitioners recognize that they have more in common with each other than with Western cultures which are viewed as being in fundamental opposition to all Aboriginal cultures. Therefore, throughout my thesis I will continue to touch briefly on the links that I observed between Cree and Stoney cultures, as well as other Aboriginal cultures, that substantiate these propositions, while retaining an awareness that all Aboriginal cultures are distinct and separate groups.

Physical expressions of the medicine wheel within Aboriginal culture

In this next section of Chapter Two I intend to look at the physical architecture that is present within Aboriginal culture. By 'architecture' I do not mean only monumental or permanent constructions, I also include all of the impermanent, temporary constructions that are created by Aboriginal peoples in regards to shelter, resource procurement, or ceremonial expressions. I will be considering and discussing examples of both traditionally based and contemporary architecture. I will be explicitly utilizing this

discussion as a means of first examining certain tangible activities within Aboriginal culture and then exploring the underlying paradigmatic worldview that is physically expressed. I am deliberately using this approach in order to provide a more tangible arena for the discussion of the medicine wheel, which has remained a predominantly abstract concept up to this point.

My explanation for this approach lies in the essence of archaeology. As I established in Chapter One, the archaeological discipline works in a context of the past: first looking at material remains generated in the past, then reconstructing past subsistence and other activities, and finally speculating about past cultural lifeways. In my opinion if this is a valid approach for an archaeologist who works in a past context, it is also a valid approach for an archaeologist who works with a living culture. Through this discussion of physical Aboriginal architecture, I will be concluding that because archaeology can incorporate both intangible and tangible expressions of circularity, the action of performing archaeology can be used to create a physical nexus for expressing Aboriginal cultural values in a manner similar to more traditional forms of Aboriginal architecture.

The first physical expressions of a medicine wheel that I would like to discuss briefly are both ceremonial spaces: the Sun Dance lodge and the sweat lodge. As the Sun Dance is a complex expression of the medicine wheel, incorporating both symbolic and architectural understandings of circular paradigms, I will not be attempting an in-depth analysis of it.[7] Not only is the Sun Dance Native spirituality practiced to its highest

[7] For those who are interested in pursuing this subject, I would suggest two alternatives. The first would be a literature review, as the Sun Dance has been extensively written about. For example, "Sun Dance" by Joseph Epes Brown in Native American Religions: North America is an excellent academic introduction to the subject. The second alternative would be to approach an Elder with tobacco for instruction. For

degree (Personal communication, Stonechild, 1999) but it is also a form of architecture that was created traditionally and continues to be created currently. As Robert Torrance points out in his 1994 work, The Spiritual Quest: Transcendence in Myth, Religion, and Science,

> by far the most elaborate Plains ceremony is the festival commonly known (from its Dakota name) as the Sun Dance and widely considered, as by Fools Crow (Mails 1979, 44), "the highest expression of our religion."...Black Elk of the Oglala Sioux ascribes its origin to a revelation from the Great Spirit, *Wakan-Tanka*, "many, many winters after our people received the sacred pipe from the White Buffalo Cow Woman" (Brown, 67). Some form of the ceremony was all but universal on the Plains... (Torrance, 1994, 246)

The Sun Dance physically and spiritually expresses the previously discussed concepts of circularity and harmonious relationships. During my fieldwork at Alexis First Nation I was invited to attend a Sun Dance on June 9th, 1999, which was being hosted on the reserve. It was immediately apparent to me that the Sun Dance lodge was a physical manifestation of a medicine wheel. I was asked not to take photographs of the Sun Dance or to make recordings of the ceremonial activities. I wish to respect not only the letter of this request but also the spirit of it, and so I will only briefly say that the lodge was circular, large, and constructed in a manner that allowed it to be destroyed by the elements. The circular nature of the Sun Dance was apparent in its physical structure, while the expression of relationship could be seen in its deliberate impermanence.

The hosting and attending of a Sun Dance is a further expression of circularity which contains all of the Aboriginal values and teaching styles that were previously discussed. While an individual man hosted the Sun Dance that I attended, a group, a

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example, John Stonechild, an Elder in Residence at the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta, has extensive experience in attending and understanding the Sun Dance.

family, or an individual woman can also host Sun Dances. In this way traditional Sun Dances were similar to other forms of ceremony, although as Ake Hultkrantz points out

> the women's societies are less frequently encountered than the men's, but like them they are likely to have cultic functions. Thus among the village tribes on the upper Missouri the so-called goose women perform special ceremonies to promote a good corn harvest and to attract the buffalo herds. This task was also discharged by the "society of the white buffalo cow", a female order among the Mandan named after a legendary albino buffalo, presumably the mistress of the buffaloes. (Hultkrantz, 1979, 117)

Although the hosting of a Sun Dance may be currently perceived as more of a male oriented role, Rayna Green makes the important point that

> on reservations, after the government had banned ceremonies, women's roles, like those of the men, in the ritual lives of their community were forever changed...In Sioux society, for example, women could no longer sponsor the Sun Dance or a vision quest...In the Hidatsa world, before the time of reservations, women's societies played vital roles in the life of the people. Members of the Goose Society performed ceremonies in order to make the corn crop prosper, and, like the Sioux, the White Buffalo Cow women danced to attract the buffalo. (Green, 1992, 56)

Both Hultkrantz and Green specifically mention two women's societies, the Goose women and the White Buffalo Cow women, and clearly indicate that hosting ceremonies was an available opportunity for traditional Aboriginal women. In terms of ceremonial participation, it was my experience at Alexis First Nation that both men and women participated in the Sun Dance as observers and dancers. As well, Stonechild clearly stated that both men and women could not only dance at a Sun Dance, but could also both engage in the ceremonial piercing if they desired to do so. (Personal communication, Stonechild, 1999) The most significant difference between men's and women's ceremonial participation is that women do not participate in gender inclusive ceremonies during their menstrual times, although depending on the circumstance and tradition they

may take part in gender exclusive ceremonial activities during this time. As Rutledge states, in his experience,

> women in their moon (menstrual period) don't participate either (i.e. in pipe ceremonies), since it is believed they possess a different power at this time. Since husbands and wives are considered to be bonded in all phases of their lives, spouses also do not take part in ceremony during their wives' moon. I consider, too, that when women are in their moon, they are already in a sacred ceremony associated with creation. (Rutledge, 1992, 46)

The final point that I will make when considering the Sun Dance is that it continues to illustrate the similarity of the underlying Cree and Stoney worldviews that was begun in the previous section. It has been my experience that both Cree and Stoney people Sun Dance, as the first Sun Dance I attended was hosted by the Sunchild First Nation, a Cree community, and the second Sun Dance I attended was the one hosted by Alexis First Nation, a Stoney community that includes some Cree members. As well, both Cree and Stoney people not only attended the Sun Dance at Alexis First Nation, but the drummers were both Cree and Stoney. The next form of ceremonial architecture I will briefly discuss continues to provide an illustration of the similarities between Cree and Stoney paradigms. It has been my experience that Cree and Stoney people, as well as many other North American Aboriginal people construct and use sweat lodges.

The Aboriginal architectural form of the sweat lodge continues the discussion of ceremonial space that was begun with the Sun Dance lodge. The circular form of the sweat lodge is a smaller scale parallel of the Sun Dance lodge and is, similarly, a manifestation of the medicine wheel. A traditional sweat lodge is a small round dome constructed out of flexible poles and covered completely with hides or a tarp. It is a semi-permanent construction in which the host, who holds the sweat lodge and the songs, gives

community access to the ancestral grandmothers and grandfathers, who speak within the sweat lodge. The sweat holder may be male or female and is given the sweat by another sweat lodge holder. Participants in a sweat may be men, women or children, however some sweats are restricted to a single sex, while others are mixed. Women in their menstrual time do not engage in sweating. Stones are heated in a fire outside of the lodge and then moved inside, where water is poured over them in a ceremony conducted by the sweat holder which creates steam within the enclosed space of the lodge. Sweating is undergone for physical and spiritual purification or to ask guidance from the grandmothers and grandfathers. A sweat lodge, like a Sun Dance lodge, is a form of architecture that existed in pre-colonial times and that continues to be constructed and utilized today. (Personal communication, Waugh, 1997; Personal communication, Calliho, 1997; Personal communication, Stonechild, 1999; Personal communication, Chief Francis Alexis, 1999)

The physical form of the sweat lodge is a direct representation of an abstract medicine wheel. It spatially enacts the medicine wheels' underlying cultural concepts of circularity, relationship, balance, and lived spirituality. The ceremonial aspects of the sweat lodge are also a representation of the medicine wheel. The sweat lodge ceremony expresses the teaching styles of Aboriginal culture, the lived experience of Aboriginal values, and the understandings of the continuity of Aboriginal peoples. Through the incorporation of architecture and ceremony, the sweat lodge integrates all aspects of the medicine wheel and provides a forum for the development of individual and community realizations of an Aboriginal worldview based on circular paradigms.

The previous discussion regarding Aboriginal ceremonial spaces as expressions of the medicine wheel is incomplete without a parallel discussion regarding Aboriginal living spaces. Areas and items that are used in conjunction with everyday life, or are less obviously spiritual than specific ceremonial spaces, also involve physical architecture within Aboriginal cultures. Within this context I would like to discuss three specific types of architecture: items and spaces that I was shown during an interview at Alexis First Nation, tipi lodges that are used as dwelling and working areas, and examples of modern buildings that have been constructed for Native groups on and off-reserve. However, before beginning this discussion I would like to point out that the distinction I am drawing between 'ceremonial' and 'living' spaces is an imposition of my own construction. I am utilizing this distinction in order to facilitate the clarity of this specific discussion within the context of my MA thesis. I am fully aware that for an Aboriginal cultural practitioner the overlap between spiritual and secular is constant and all-inclusive. As was indicated in the previous discussions regarding Aboriginal teaching styles and values, the daily lived experience of an adult member of the community continually incorporates spiritual expressions within both specific ceremonial events and general everyday activities.

On July 23, 1999, I interviewed an Elder at Alexis First Nation, Florastine Alexis. This interview took place at her home on reserve, which she shared with her brother, Fred Alexis. Although the interview was focused on Florastine Alexis, Fred Alexis was very interested in what was happening and what was being said. He was actively present throughout most of the interview time, interjecting comments, displaying items, and requesting that photographs be taken. The first item that he wished to show was his

personal drum. It was a traditional handheld drum, constructed of hide stretched over a wooden frame. His drum was small, circular and had crosspieces inserted which quartered the circle thereby creating a replica of the drawn medicine wheels that were previously discussed. Fred Alexis requested that this drum be photographed, as well as some clothing he owned and certain traditional herbal items. (Personal communication, Fred Alexis, 1999)

When Florastine Alexis decided to take us outside and show us her work areas, Fred Alexis remained behind in the house. Florastine's work area was situated a little distance from the house, within a grove of trees. There was a single path that led into the area and a single fire pit that was central to the work area. All of the working equipment that was used in this area was located in relation to the fire pit, creating a circular architectural structure. That this architecture was semi-impermanent made it no less obvious that it was also a replica of a medicine wheel. The cabin was a wooden, more permanent structure, while the defleshing tool was metal and imbedded into a tree support. The poles for suspending hides while working on them were also roped to trees, while the meat drying rack was a wooden, free standing structure.

The architecture of this work place presented an even more significant replication of ceremonial structures than the previously discussed drum. The replication occurred in both the co-mingling of permanence and impermanence, and more importantly, in that the work area was divided into gendered spaces symbolically recalling the gendered spaces of the Sun Dance lodges and sweat lodges. The areas and items that were utilized for hide working and meat processing were female work areas, while the cabin structure that was utilized for herbal processing and storing was a male work area. The female

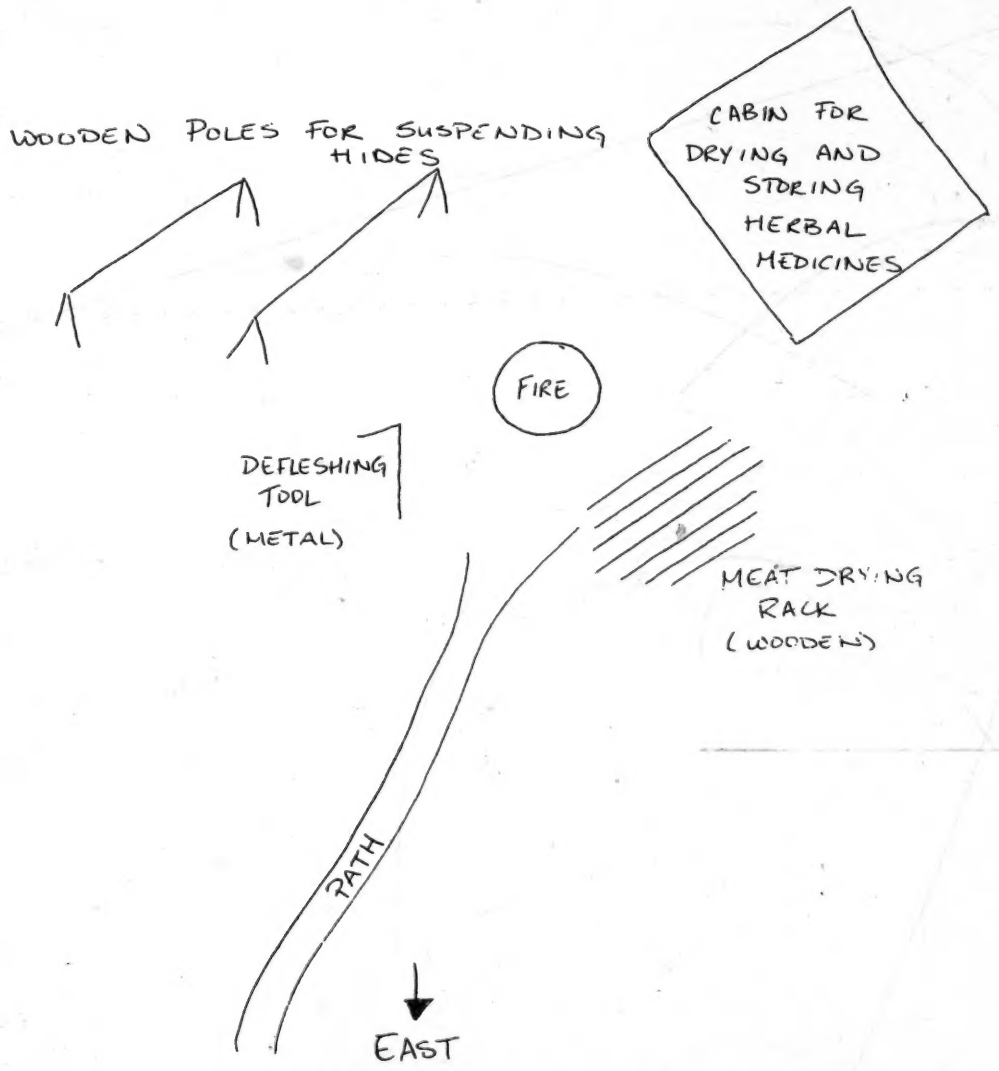


Figure 3: Florastine and Fred Alexis' Work Area

Drawn by Tara Million after an audiotaped, videotaped and photographed interview with Florastine Alexis in this space.

(Personal communication, Florastine Alexis, 1999)

areas were available for photographing, and indeed I was encouraged to do so, while the male area was specifically off limits not only for photographs but also for menstruating women. (Personal communication, Florastine Alexis, 1999)

The final item that Fred Alexis and Florastine Alexis showed me that I will mention in this context is the previously discussed picture of a medicine wheel with four human arms (see page 39). They both requested that photographs be taken of this medicine wheel and spent some time explaining the symbolism of the arms and colors to me. (Personal communication, Florastine Alexis, 1999; Personal communication, Fred Alexis, 1999) It was my impression that both Fred and Florastine considered the drum, the work area, and the medicine wheel picture not only important things to show me but also important things for me to experience. All of these items and areas were explicitly circular and replicated a medicine wheel in a sensory format. It was especially obvious to me that the work area Florastine had set up was a tangible medicine wheel that an individual could physically enter, while the other two formats were audible and visual representations of the same underlying paradigm. It was also my impression that Florastine and Fred were satisfied with my experience and showed their approval of my participation in the interview in two personal ways: Florastine by giving me a sweetgrass braid and Fred by giving me tea made from fresh mint.

The second type of common Aboriginal architecture that I will briefly discuss, as another representation of the medicine wheel, is tipi lodges. Tipi lodges are conical structures, with hide or canvas covers that are fitted over a wooden pole frame. The secondary lodge poles are set over a base frame of either three or four main poles, and directionality is usually an important aspect of setting up the tipi. Tipis are movable dwellings that were commonly utilized in a traditional context and continue to be utilized within a modern context. In my experience tipis are commonplace on both Cree and Stoney reserves. I have seen many tipi lodges at both Alexis First Nation and Saddle

Lake First Nation. They are often set up in conjunction with more modern dwellings and can be used for living, storing gear, or ceremonial activities. The tipi lodge is a physical living space that incorporates all of the previously discussed understandings of the medicine wheel: lived spirituality, incorporation of cultural teachings into everyday activities, and an emphasis on balanced relationships.

The third type of Aboriginal architecture that I am going to briefly discuss is modern buildings built either by or for Native people which deliberately incorporate circular designs or structures. When they are constructed on-reserve these buildings are primarily intended for use as communal spaces. For instance, the reserve school at Alexis First Nation incorporates a central area that is intended to look like a tipi lodge from the outside while creating a circular auditorium for use within the building. A second example of on-reserve architecture is presented in the community center at Saddle Lake First Nation which was built with an internal structure of oversized poles that stylistically recreates half of a tipi frame. As well, when these types of buildings are designed or constructed for off-reserve use they are also predominantly intended as community spaces. For instance, the renovated offices of Native Student Services at the University of Alberta include a deliberately circular floor plan in their lobby area, which is immediately apparent as soon as a visitor steps through the door. The explicitly circular layout is emphasized by a series of oversized poles that provide a framework for the central area of the office. In all of these instances of permanent architecture for Aboriginal use that I have touched on, there is a deliberate and explicit attempt to integrate traditional Aboriginal cultural values into a modern context through the use of circular architecture. The incorporation of physically circular forms, which furthermore specifically re-create

traditional architecture such as tipi lodges, into modern buildings is a conscious and deliberate effort to incorporate the more abstract or spiritual elements of the medicine wheel into more modern, secular settings.

The use of physical representations of the medicine wheel was a deliberate part of traditional Aboriginal culture and continues to be a priority within modern Aboriginal life. The value of experiencing a medicine wheel physically is clearly recognized within all of the previously discussed architectural examples, while the lived experience of Aboriginal cultural values is clearly facilitated through permanent and impermanent forms of architecture. Through this discussion of physical Aboriginal architecture and the previous discussion regarding the underlying cultural paradigm of the medicine wheel, it is apparent that intangible and tangible aspects of circularity work together. Therefore, I propose that not only should the theory of Aboriginal archaeology be compatible with intangible expressions of circularity but that the practice of Aboriginal archaeology should be compatible with tangible expressions of circularity. I am postulating that when the abstract elements and the practical elements of archaeology are consciously used in tandem, an archaeological site can become a physical nexus for incorporating Aboriginal cultural values. In essence then, Aboriginal archaeology, which through the physical acts of conducting archaeology 'builds' an archaeological site, is as much an expression of a medicine wheel as other forms of Aboriginal architecture are.

How have other Aboriginal researchers incorporated the medicine wheel as a research model?

Before I begin the discussion of how a circular research model can be utilized within archaeological practice, I will first consider how other Aboriginal scholars have incorporated circularity within their work. This discussion will provide a context for my use of a research model that is explicitly based on a medicine wheel and incorporates both understandings of circularity and the number four. As well, this discussion itself is presented within the context of a medicine wheel; it moves from personal experience to group expressions, it is divided into four parts, and it demonstrates philosophy integrated with action.

Motivations

The first point to touch on is the context in which Aboriginal scholars choose to utilize circular research models. Regardless of their individual disciplines, I have noted that there is an overwhelming similarity in regards to their motivations for considering an Aboriginal research model as a viable alternative for academic work. In both formal written expressions and informal personal discussions most Aboriginal scholars that I have encountered seem to regard their initial integration of Aboriginal paradigms within an academic framework as an unanticipated and unexpected development. As Paula Gunn Allen expresses it in her work, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions,

> I didn't start out to be a Native American scholar...But on my return to Albuquerque from California in late 1970, my friend Dick Wilson asked me to teach in the newly formed Native American Studies Program at the University of New Mexico. My decision to accept his offer signaled a major shift in my focus, one that returned me to my mother's side, to the sacred hoop of my grandmothers' ways. (Allen, 1992, 1)

Regardless of whether the department is English, Women's Studies, Native Studies, Education, Anthropology or Archaeology, or whether the researcher is an undergraduate, graduate or faculty, the questions that have led the Aboriginal scholar to this shift in focus--from accepting academic paradigms to re-framing academic work within Aboriginal paradigms--also exhibit a remarkable similarity. Within her work, "An Aboriginal Pedagogical Model: Recovering an Aboriginal Pedagogy from the Woodlands Cree", Cathy Wheaton clarifies for the reader that

> prior to writing this paper, I was, at the time, struggling with the question 'What is Native Studies?' This question was very difficult to answer, although I was in my fourth year of study. I found myself unable to answer the question, as I was, instead, focusing on two separate aspects of the question itself. I was being pulled in two directions, the reality of how I experienced Native Studies and what I had actually hoped to learn...I quickly realized that trying to resolve the problems inherent in non-Aboriginal approaches was futile, and I could not effectively reconstruct non-Aboriginal methodologies that were borne out of non-Aboriginal construction...I believe in Aboriginal knowledge, its content and its dissemination. (Wheaton, 2000, 151-153)

The questions that generally lead an Aboriginal scholar to her/his unanticipated area of research based on Aboriginal paradigms are primarily ones that focus on basic issues. These questions are not only about fundamental aspects of their discipline and academics, but they are also questions that have not been adequately answered by the researcher's training, experiences, or academic instructors. In Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, Linda Tuhiwai Smith expresses the fundamental frustration that leads many Aboriginal scholars into an Aboriginal-based research framework:

> While I enjoyed the hands-on level at which I was working I found that the more rewarding work involved me in trying to 'think through' a problem, 'working with' the data and bringing it together with my own

> readings. Mostly, however, I found that the particular issues I faced as an indigenous researcher working with indigenous research participants were never addressed by the literature, my own training or the researchers with whom I worked. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, 12)

The previous examples of motivations for engaging in Aboriginal-based research are not only overwhelmingly personal but also demonstrate a similarity of experience and resolution throughout the different Aboriginal groups and geographical areas from which self-identified Aboriginal researchers come. For example, Allen is a Laguna Pueblo and Sioux from the United States, while Wheaton is a Woodland Cree from Canada and Tuhiwai Smith is a Maori from New Zealand. These written reflections on the motivations that each researcher experienced as a catalyst for shifting to an Aboriginal paradigm base for research are also reflected in my own interactions with my peers. I have repeatedly heard, from my colleagues who are both Aboriginal and archaeologists, that it was a very personal dissatisfaction or discomfort with their individual academic experience that has led them into the explicit development of Aboriginal archaeology. (Personal communications, Pilot, Nairouz, Bruchac, Hammond, Mathis, & Weik, 2000) Finally, as I previously discussed in Chapter One, these written and verbal expressions of other Aboriginal academics regarding their movements into utilizing an Aboriginal research framework parallel my questions, my concerns, and my motivations for moving into an unanticipated area of research.

Circular frameworks

The second point that I will next touch on briefly is how Aboriginal scholars often choose to utilize circularity as a framework not only for research but also for publication. Circular images, or explicit references to circularity, are commonly used in titles of works by Native authors or in works that are intended for a predominantly Native

audience. The following four examples are drawn from diverse disciplines and include academic, governmental, and general interest publications. They all clearly show an incorporation of a circular framework into their titles: Paula Gunn Allen, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions, 1992; Roger Neil (editor), Voice of the Drum: Indigenous Education and Culture, 2000; Jeanne Perrault and Sylvia Vance (editors) Writing the Circle: Native Women of Western Canada, 1990; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Circle of Light, October 2000, Number 6.

In my opinion, this use of circularity within writing is parallel to the use of circularity within modern architecture. The utilization of a circular image as the title of a work explicitly contextualizes the writing into a circular framework and implicitly places the author's words into an Aboriginal value system for those readers who recognize both the symbol and the underlying conceptual framework that is being expressed. Through the attempt to frame writing within images of circularity, the abstract essence of a medicine wheel and the underlying traditional Aboriginal paradigms and values it represents are deliberately being incorporated into a modern setting.

The number four in research

The third point I will now explore at some length is in regards to the incorporation of the number four into Aboriginal research. As was previously discussed, the concept of four is an essential element of the medicine wheel and, as an expression of balance, works in conjunction with the concept of circularity. The number four is sometimes utilized in contexts where a visual representation of circularity is not the most appropriate or easiest method of demonstrating the underlying Aboriginal framework for research. As

Wheaton explains, her use of four within research regarding models for education and learning processes organizes her results into a coherent whole:

> Many Woodlands Cree feel strongly about remaining connected to the land base in order to practice traditional lifestyles. Like many Woodland Cree, I was able to experience many learning experiences while occupying the land and sustaining myself upon it…I want to talk about the education I have received from my family…I finally began to list some of what I saw as being essential to the process of learning that I derived. The processes I identified were: **observation**, **experience**, **introspection** and **inquiry**. These four processes supported each other and occurred both simultaneously and sequentially within the learning style that I have described. The process itself was complex, not following a regular pattern, coping with my own learning abilities. All four processes were necessary in this experience and others so that I could engage myself fully in the process of learning within this model. (Wheaton, 2000, 157-161)

As well as organizing her results into a coherent whole through the use of the concept of four, Wheaton also separates the identified learning processes into four sections as a means of demonstrating the integrated nature of the four parts. The interactions between each segment of learning are as essential to the educational model as are the processes themselves. Wheaton personalizes the model development, within the dual context of both her self and a larger Cree group, and explicitly links her academic model to a traditional base through that personalization.

Cree/Metis writer and educator Kim Anderson presents another means of incorporating the number four into a research model in her work, A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood. She utilizes a verbal understanding of the number four in tandem with a visual understanding of circularity. In her work on Native women's identity formation, Anderson explicitly frames her work within an understanding of the values expressed through the number four when she states that:

> I propose that Native women engage in a process of self-definition that includes four steps: *resist*, *reclaim*, *construct* and *act*…Very simply, the

> identify formation process that I have documented involves: resisting negative definitions of being; reclaiming Aboriginal tradition; constructing a positive identity by translating tradition into the contemporary context; and acting on that identity in a way that nourishes the overall well-being of our communities. What is distinctly Aboriginal is the way in which past, present and future are understood to be inextricably connected. We often hear our people say, 'You have to know where you come from to know where you are going.' In other words, our definition and self-determination as individuals and as nations involves calling on the past to define the future. (Anderson, 2000, 15-16)

Anderson not only frames her work through the use of Aboriginal paradigms, but also incorporates Aboriginal values into the processes and goals of her research. She explicitly links individual identity to group identity and philosophy to action, thereby demonstrating a fundamental Aboriginal value of connection. Anderson also demonstrates this same worldview of recognizing connection when she clarifies that the incorporation of the number four into her work is both traditionally based and politically motivated, encompassing understandings of past tradition, present context, and future changes.

Circular research models

The fourth example of circularity within the work of Aboriginal researchers that I will consider is the most direct representation of utilizing the medicine wheel as a research model. This is presented when a researcher utilizes a clear visual image of a medicine wheel as the research framework. Anderson's work, regarding experiences that have contributed to the formation of contemporary Native women's identities, provides an obvious linkage between this type of modeling and the number four as framework for research. Anderson explicitly utilizes the number four, as I discussed in the previous section, in conjunction with the following visual medicine wheel, which she incorporates

as the framework both for analyzing the interview data she accumulated during her research and for communicating the results of her research to her audience.

The use of a circular model for engaging in research, organizing and analyzing data, and for communicating results has several implications. Not only is the researcher clearly self-identifying her/his work as Aboriginal, and as being based on Aboriginal

DIAGRAM 1: WHO AM I?

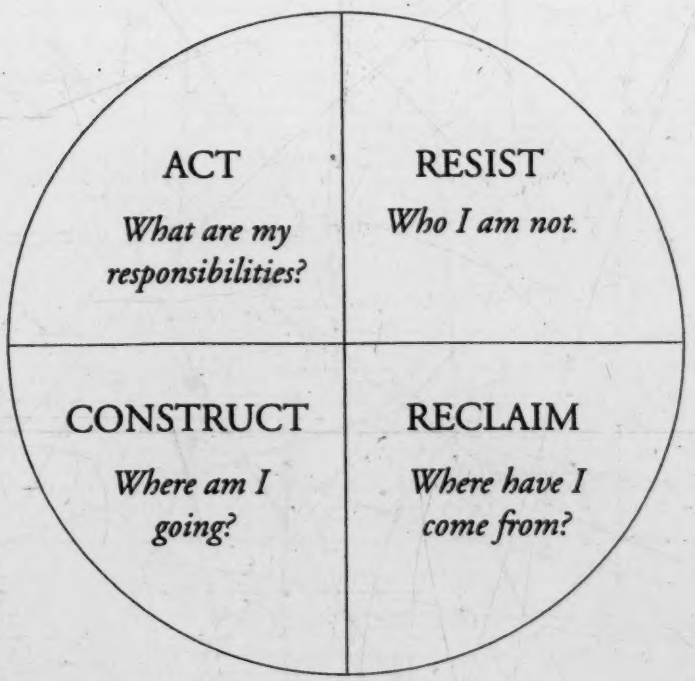


Figure 4: Circular research model by Kim Anderson

(Anderson, 2000, 16)

paradigms and values, but she/he is also indicating the open-ended nature of the research.

While I have heard some academics express the opinion that a circular model

Appendix A-5

Circumplex Model of Aboriginal History

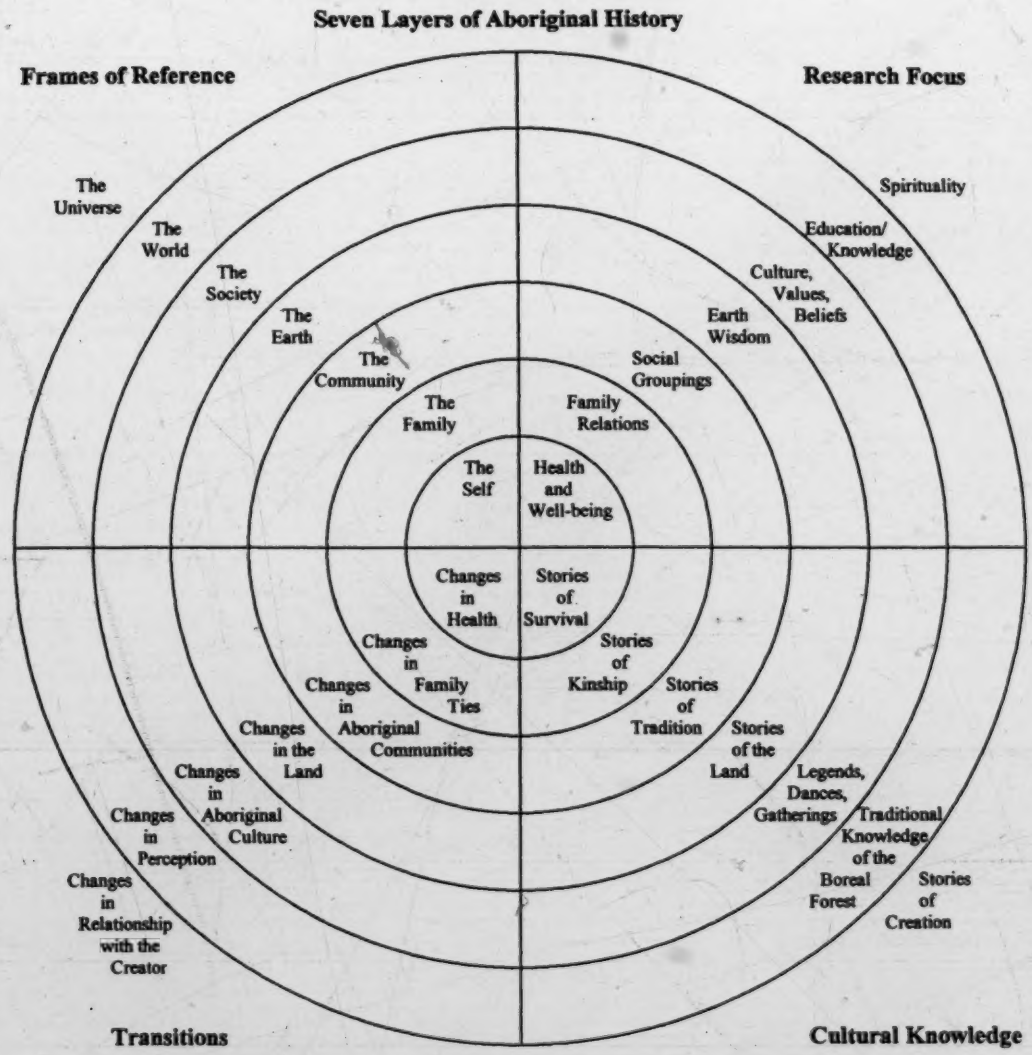


Figure 5: Circular research model by Coutu and Hoffman-Mercredi

(Coutu and Hoffman-Mercredi, 1999, 13)

appears to be closed or repetitive, thereby limited in a negative sense, the Aboriginal interpretation of a circular model is quite the opposite. Within an Aboriginal framework, a circular model is viewed as an expression of both the connected nature of the researcher and the ongoing cycle of long term research. Continuous connection and unending cycles of research are understood positively, as this research model then expresses an Aboriginal understanding of the changeable nature of individuality contained within the stable framework of tradition.

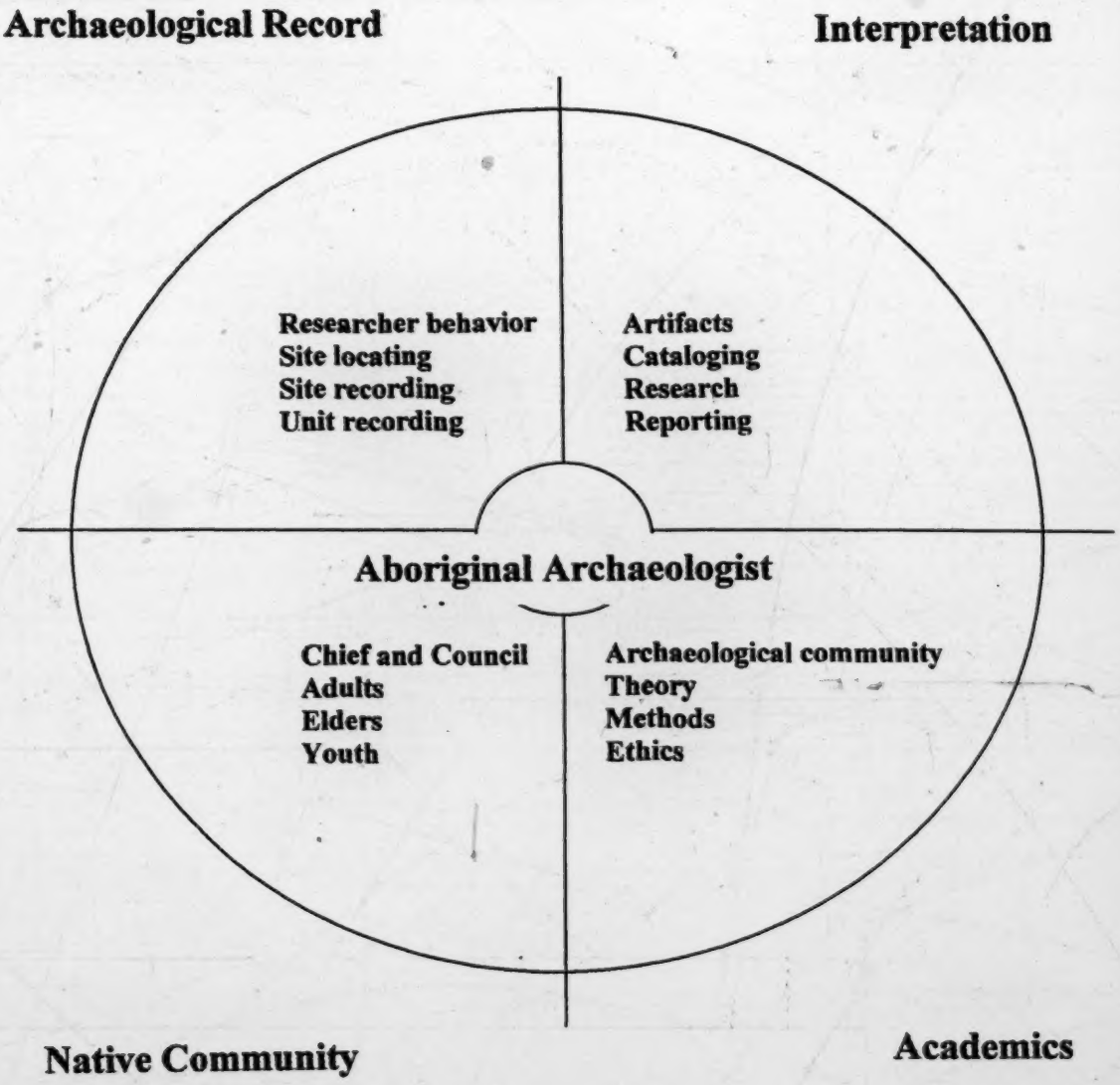
A circular research model not only expresses the researcher's previous, present and future connections, but also expresses the multi-layered aspects of their work. Again, I have heard some academics express the opinion that a circular model is simplistic or reductionist, as it does not appear to incorporate understandings of the depth of research. However, when a circular research model is viewed from an Aboriginal perspective, it is interpreted both as an expression of the multiple research aspects that have been incorporated into the research and the recognition of the infinite possibilities that could be explored within the research. The previous diagram that was developed by Phillip Coutu and Lorraine Hoffman-Mercredi, respectively Metis and Chipewyan from Alberta in Inkonze: The Stones of Traditional Knowledge, is an excellent example of this multi-layered aspect within circular research models. Coutu and Hoffman-Mercredi not only situate their work on Northern Alberta Aboriginal history within an Aboriginal framework, through the use of a 'circumplex' model, but are also absolutely clear, through the explanations presented in the Appendices, that the ethnographic data collection, the historical analysis, and the resulting communication of research is based

on their utilization of an Aboriginal teaching and learning style. (Coutu and Hoffman-Mercredi, 1999, 8-15)

The medicine wheel as a research model for Aboriginal archaeology

Once I decided to base my archaeological work on an Aboriginal worldview and attempt to develop an Aboriginal archaeology, I recognized the need to have both abstract and tangible elements from the medicine wheel incorporated into my work. I decided to initially use the most direct and explicit method of shifting paradigms from linear to circular that was available to me. Therefore, I developed the following circular research model for archaeology that was both based on the physical form of a traditional medicine wheel and on the abstract underlying Aboriginal worldview which has been discussed at length in this chapter.

As I have developed it, the circular archaeological research model retains the simplification of a traditional medicine wheel in its visual form. However, as I clearly saw when I began to utilize it, this research model encompasses not only a spatial representation of archaeological research, but also an abstract understanding of the multiple relationships between all of the animate entities I recognized within the practice of archaeology. Each animate entity that I recognized necessitated developing a negotiated relationship between me, as the Aboriginal archaeologist, and it, as an independent actor, that was explicitly understood and deliberately recognized within the framework of the developing research. Through simplicity, this archaeological research model expresses complex Aboriginal values of connection, integration and multiplicity.



Right Relations with Animate Entities

Figure 6: Circular research model for archaeology

Within the next chapter of this thesis, I will explore the specific methods that I used in negotiating each relationship contained within the circular research model and discuss some of the results that I encountered. However, the final point that I would like to make in conclusion to this section is that, as the Aboriginal archaeologist, I embodied the central point of the medicine wheel that created the relationships between me and the outlying quarters of academics, the Native community, the archaeological record, and interpretation. In conjunction with this, and perhaps more significantly, as the Aboriginal archaeologist, I was also a tangible expression of the independent relationships that have existed, do exist, and will continue to exist between the four elements that are identified within the research model.

The medicine wheel and anthropology

To conclude this discussion regarding Aboriginal paradigms I am going to briefly touch on the general relationship between Aboriginal peoples and anthropology. Although archaeologists may differentiate themselves from anthropologists, archaeology in North America is recognized as one of the sub-disciplines of anthropology and the two subjects are often conflated in the perceptions of Aboriginal peoples. In Chapter One, I discussed the general negative view of archaeology that is expressed by many Aboriginal people, and in the same way it would be fair to say that anthropology is often viewed negatively by Aboriginal peoples. As Tuhiwai Smith, a Maori researcher, states

> I did not become an anthropologist, and although many indigenous writers would nominate anthropology as representative of all that is truly bad about research, it is not my intention to single out one discipline over another as representative of what research has done to indigenous peoples. I argue that, in their foundations, Western disciplines are as much implicated in each other as they are in imperialism. Some, such as

> anthropology, make the study of us into 'their' science, others were employed in the practices of imperialism in less direct but far more devastating ways. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, 11)

In my experience I have found that the existence of this negative view, or outright hostility, towards anthropology is not only generally recognized by individual anthropologists but is also the subject of much concern by the discipline as a whole. I have seen many efforts made to address or alleviate the concerns of Aboriginal peoples regarding anthropology, both institutionally and individually, which have met with varying degrees of success. However, because I consider myself to be an archaeologist and an anthropologist as well as an Aboriginal person, I need to put forward the position that anthropology is an ideal academic discipline in which to incorporate circular paradigms. The four-fold format of anthropology, with sub-disciplines of social-cultural, linguistics, physical anthropology, and archaeology, is in itself a replication of the medicine wheel. Therefore, an Aboriginal scholar could hold the center point in a circular anthropological research model in the same way as an Aboriginal archaeologist does in the previously presented circular archaeological research model. Furthermore, I need to state that within my archaeological work I have utilized the four-fold nature of anthropology as an extension of the circular nature of my research paradigm through the incorporation of elements from each of the four sub-disciplines of anthropology.

Chapter 3: The Four Quadrants of the Research Model

The primary focus of Chapter Three is to present and discuss the specific methods that I developed and utilized in negotiating each of the relationships that were identified within the archaeological circular research model illustrated in Chapter Two. Within Chapter One and Chapter Two my voice has been that of a commentator, while other voices, both academic and lay, have been situated within the forefront of the discussion. However, now my voice will become dominant. Although I have been, and continue to be, influenced by each person with whom I come in contact directly or indirectly, the ideas and methods that I am presenting within Chapter Three are my original work. Therefore, quotes and references will be kept to a minimum as the interpretations and applications of paradigms discussed within this chapter are constituted through my own understandings of them.

I have several reasons for choosing to utilize this 'non-academic' format. First, within Aboriginal culture authoritative knowledge is constructed through a specific process of learning. This process is succinctly stated in a poster that I have seen displayed in many Aboriginal centers, which contains the text 'The Creator gave me two eyes, two ears and one mouth, so that I could listen and watch twice as much as I speak'. Aboriginal learning and knowledge is based on the student listening to the people surrounding her, watching what her Elders and peers do, and then coming to her own individual conclusions. Aboriginal teachers expect that their students will take both the teacher's words and actions into account, and then apply what they have learned within their own context. Within this thesis I am attempting to follow this format, therefore

Chapters One and Two were based on my listening and watching, while Chapter Three will be based on my speaking.[8]

Second, within this process of Aboriginal learning authoritative knowledge is regarded as being highly individualized. Each person comes to her/his own unique understanding of the commonly held paradigms contained within group knowledge and then expresses this understanding in an extremely personal fashion. As well, the tangible teachings that are given through the words and actions of Elders are understood to be working in conjunction with the intangible teachings that are received through individual spiritual guidance. Because learning is individualized, arrived at through a unique and spiritual process, authoritative knowledge is also regarded as individualized. This understanding of knowledge results in the Cree value of humility (*tapahteyimiso*) and is expressed through the reluctance of Aboriginal peoples to make all-encompassing knowledge statements that are widely applicable. Rather, knowledge statements are made through personal contextualizing and are regarded as only one possible interpretation. In order to follow this Aboriginal framework within Chapter Three I am presenting my knowledge, gained through tangible and intangible means, through the medium of my personal experiences. I also remind the reader that the way in which I have applied circular paradigms within archaeological work is not the only means of doing so.

My final reason for utilizing a 'non-academic' format within Chapter Three has to do with audience. This archaeological work is not intended to be solely for the benefit of the academic community. The work I undertook was meant to incorporate Aboriginal paradigms and archaeological methods, to be a partnership with a First Nations

[8] I should also point out that the concept of listening and watching twice as much as you speak also has another connotation for me, as I am listening and watching two traditions (archaeological and Aboriginal)

community, and to contribute to better relations between archaeologists and Aboriginal people. In my opinion, a purely academic format is not the most effective means of meeting any of these goals. In order for the archaeological work I undertook to benefit both the academic community and the Aboriginal community, I need to be understandable to both audiences. Although a thesis is not a work generally intended for a lay audience, I will be emphasizing clear, non-specialized language within this chapter and presenting the work in a manner that will be understandable to a community audience. In this way, the presentation of my work will be a continued expression of the development of Aboriginal paradigms and archaeological methods into a single Aboriginal archaeology that is the fundamental research goal of this thesis.

First Quadrant: Relationship with Academics

In order to create a relationship between the Aboriginal-based archaeology I was undertaking and the academically based existing structure of archaeology, I will first establish that the development of Aboriginal archaeology is generally considered a desirable goal by the archaeological discipline. Then, I will utilize a theoretical approach that compares the specific Western and Aboriginal paradigms of linearity and circularity. As the basis of my relationship with academics I will contrast the Western linear paradigms of power and time that currently underlie the archaeological discipline and the comparable Aboriginal concepts of power and time based on circular paradigms that will underlie my practice of Aboriginal archaeology. Finally, I will draw out the ethical standpoints that result from each paradigmatic viewpoint and their implications for the practice of archaeology.

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and then speaking about them as an integrated whole.

The call for an Aboriginal archaeology

Historically, the discipline of archaeology was dominated by practitioners who were white, middle to upper class, and male. Previous to the Second World War, archaeologists often found commonalties in their elite social and academic standing however young or old they were. After World War II, however, a group of middle class archaeologists, who did not view themselves as 'gentleman scholars', emerged to engage the discipline. From this infusion of energy and conflict, the discipline of archaeology experienced a shift in paradigms to processualism, which was an understanding of archaeology that emphasized standardized methodologies and theoretical development modeled after practices in the 'hard sciences'. In the 1980's, the archaeological discipline again shifted paradigms, this time to incorporate post-processualism, a more socially oriented understanding of archaeology that emphasized contextualization of interpretation and reflexivity.

As part of that shift to post-processualism and reflexivity, archaeologists found that attention was being paid to whom they were as individuals and how that placement affected their archaeology. From the realization of their essential homogeneity grew the understanding that heterogeneity would have desirable outcomes for the discipline of archaeology. It was thought that increasing heterogeneity would result in a multiplicity of voice, method, theory, interpretation, and analysis that would ultimately strengthen the discipline. Therefore, since this theoretical shift in the 1980's, a great deal of attention and effort within the archaeological community has been devoted to consciously recognizing, and increasing, the diversity of archaeologists who practice within the discipline.

Diversity is encouraged in both the practices of archaeology, including research goals and methods, and within the archaeologists themselves, in categories such as gender, culture, and social status. As the inclusion of multiple perspectives, including perspectives from the cultural groups being studied, is considered highly desirable under this theoretical orientation, within North America the training of Native American archaeologists and the development of Native American archaeology is given high priority. The work that I present within this thesis clearly falls into this post-processual archaeological framework of recognition and encouragement.

A comparison of power based on linear paradigms and circular paradigms

There are two specific expressions of underlying paradigms that I intend to consider in this section, power and time. Both of these abstract concepts have practical implications for the discipline of archaeology, as culturally based understandings of both power and time are incorporated into the ideological framework that an archaeologist utilizes in order to practice archaeology. An archaeologist speaks about people. In doing so, an archaeologist enters into a relationship with the people about whom she speaks, based on her understandings of power which are enabling the relationship to occur, while simultaneously drawing on a concept of time in order to organize her speech and give it a coherent form.

The worldview that archaeology has traditionally utilized is based on Western linear paradigms, therefore I will consider the linear expression of power first. Next I will contrast this with circular expressions of power to show that power is conceived very differently within the frameworks of Western and Aboriginal thought.

When conceptions of power are based on linearity, power becomes both static and hierarchical and can be symbolically illustrated as follows.

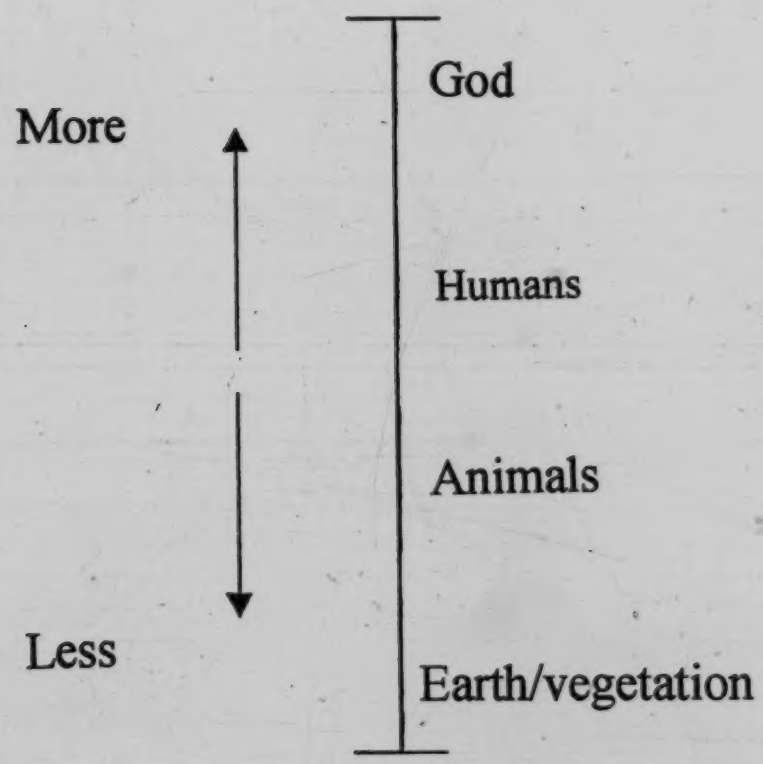

Figure 7: Linear Power

However, when conceptions of power are based on circularity, power becomes both fluid and shared. Circular power can be symbolically illustrated as follows. I have not included arrows within this illustration as the flow of power is multidirectional rather than unidirectional, thus if they were desired arrows could be placed around the circle,

towards the center, radiating from the center, crossing the circle, or in any combination of these possibilities.

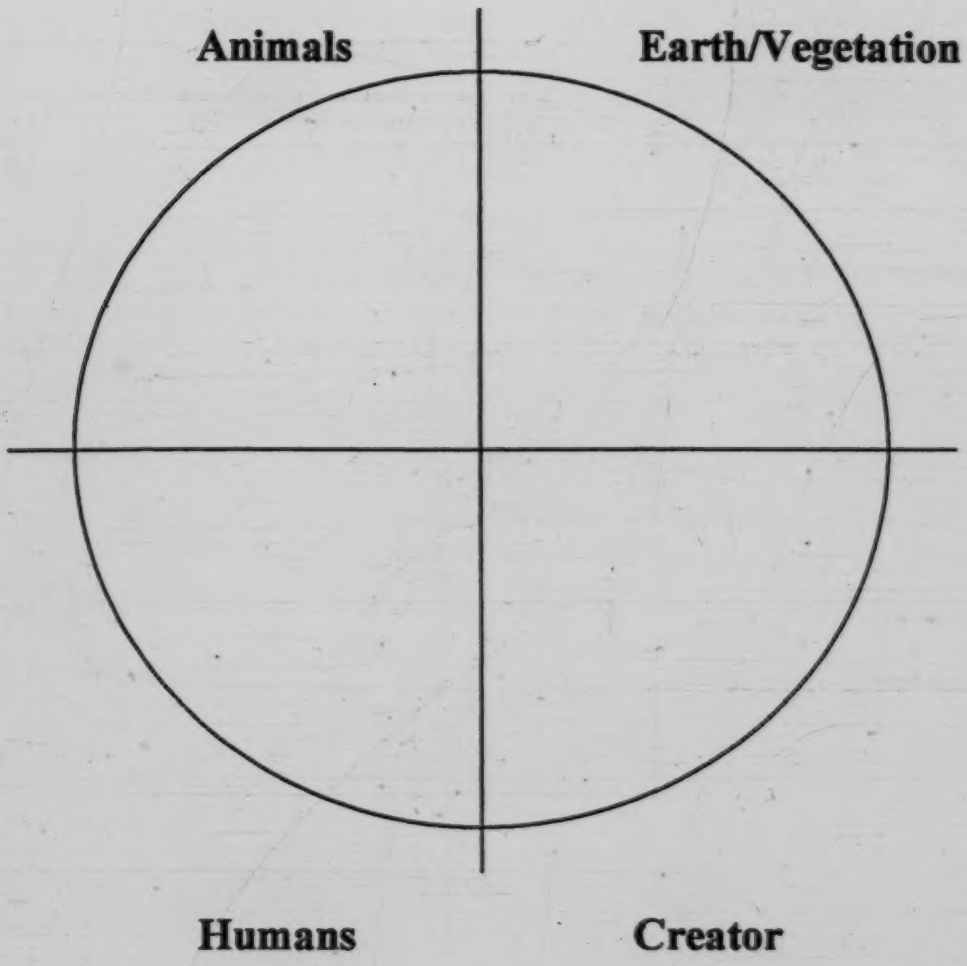

Figure 8: Circular Power

Within a linear paradigm, such as in Western thought, it is considered important to understand who has less power and who has more power because the system is based

on inequality of power. Therefore, system members are ranked in an ascending order from least powerful to most powerful, which is based in part on their perceived ability for independent action. In consequence, power becomes the ability to act, and implicitly to enforce actions on those who are less powerful within the ranking system.

In contrast, within a circular paradigm such as underlies Aboriginal thought, it is considered more important to understand who has the potential to be powerful, regardless of whether they are powerful at that moment or not. Therefore, attention is focused on establishing who is a part of the power system and not on formalizing their current position within that system. Within an Aboriginal worldview both human and non-human individuals are recognized as part of the power system. Each member of the system has the potential to become more or less powerful as circumstances change, therefore power becomes the recognition of, and manipulation of, fluctuation in the relationships between the system members. The fluidity and mobility of circular power ensures that all of the participating individuals impose action with the understanding that future actions may in turn be imposed on them as power cycles throughout the system.

A comparison of time based on linear paradigms and circular paradigms

In the same manner as power, time is conceived very differently within a linear worldview and a circular worldview. Again, because archaeology has traditionally utilized linear paradigms, I will first consider the linear expression of time and then contrast that with a circular expression of time.

Within Western linear paradigms, time is unidirectional and proceeds in a point-to-point fashion, as illustrated in the following diagram.

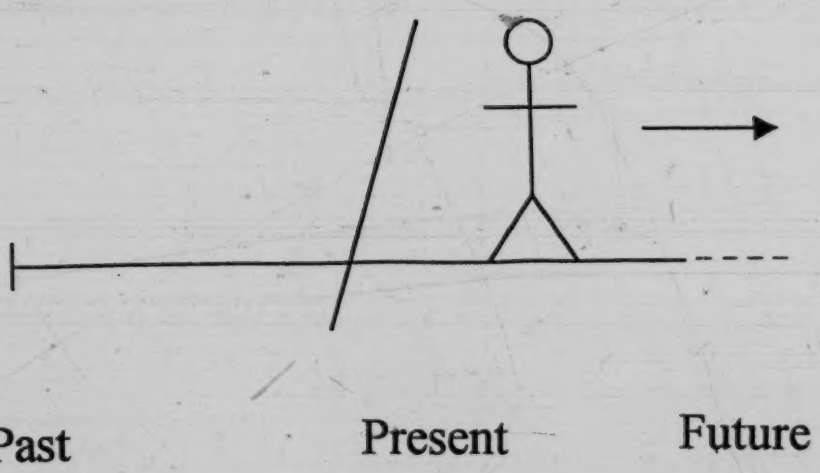

Figure 9: Linear Time

An individual moves with the flow of time from the past to the future, while remaining ever fixed in the present. Therefore the past becomes a closed arena to which return or true access is denied to an individual in the present. In the same manner, the future is never entirely realized because it hasn't occurred yet. Within a linear worldview, the present is given higher priority and dominates.

However, within circular paradigms, time is concurrent and an individual becomes simultaneously immanent in all times, as can be seen in the following diagram. The past, present, and future are moments that permanently surround every individual; therefore they are always equally accessible. Each individual anchors, and links, all times with their central presence. As well, all individuals--human and non-human, living, dead and yet-to-be-born--are then further linked by their relationship networks that take place within these cycles of time. The primary goals within circular paradigms of time are concerned with preparing and facilitating each individual's realizations of his or her place

within the relationship webs that incorporate all animate beings and all moments of time. Within this circular paradigm, each kind of time is considered immediately relevant to individuals as all times are continually occurring; thus primacy is given to action that incorporates all times.

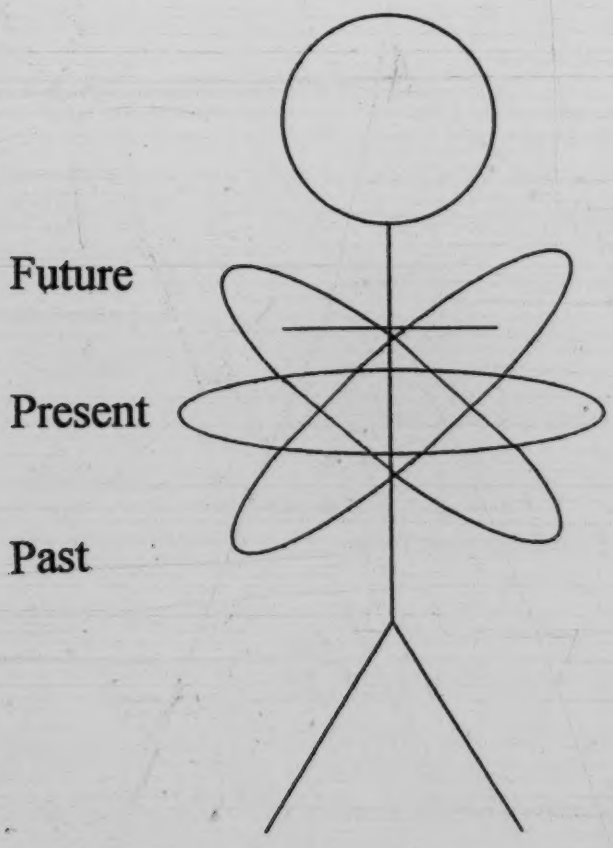

Figure 10: Circular Time

While these expressions of circular and linear paradigms are somewhat abstract, they result in very immediate consequences for the discipline of archaeology, and emerge

specifically in the ethical bases that underlie the practice of archaeology. Archaeologists decide how to practice archaeology based not only on their underlying cultural paradigms, but also on what they consider desirable action within the context of their worldview. The ethical understandings of appropriate behavior, or desirable action, which are contained within these two worldviews--linear and circular--are very different. Linear paradigms result in **responsibility (acting from a position of patronage)** being incorporated as a primary ethical base whereas circular paradigms result in **obligation (acting from a position of reciprocity)** being incorporated as a primary ethical base. As I will now discuss, each of these ethical bases creates a different understanding of what archaeology is and how it should proceed.

Archaeological ethics that result from linear paradigms

Responsibility, which is the ethical base that archaeology currently uses, relies on the linear understandings of power and time. Within this framework, the archaeologist is the primary agent who wields the most power due to her active role and to her dominant position within the present. Therefore, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to protect the archaeological record, because they are more powerful than the archaeological record, which is understood as an inanimate object: thus powerless. Archaeology also considers it ethical, and highly desirable, to preserve the archaeological record for future archaeologists. The living practitioners of archaeology, who inhabit a continual present, are committed to an understanding of the archaeological record as a finite, non-renewable resource; the archaeological record was created in the past, is used in the present, and will be gone in the future. As well, the perceived authority of archaeologists to interpret the archaeological record more competently and comprehensibly than anyone else is another

result of their superior positioning within a hierarchical power structure. The trained archaeologist is in a more powerful position than the general public because of her/his specialized knowledge. Therefore archaeologists take on the responsibility to hold the archaeological record, and the information that is known about it, in trust for the general public within the present time.

Archaeological ethics that result from circular paradigms

Obligation, which is the ethical understanding resulting from circular paradigms, expresses a very different understanding of power and time. Obligation incorporates the fluidity of circular power by recognizing that each individual's actions both compel, and are compelled by, other powerful individuals. Rather than the more powerful being responsible for the less powerful, the potential for compelled action obligates system members to establish and maintain reciprocal relationships. As well, the conflation of past, present and future creates another dimension of potential actors within the system that must be taken into account before undertaking actions. The multilayered time dimension of circular paradigms creates further obligations as the presence of past and future individuals provides current individuals with both a need to react to their actions and a potential avenue for evoking a response. The ethic of obligation forms the base of my development of an Aboriginal archaeology.

Archaeological obligation relies on the primary understanding that the archaeologist is a single individual who interacts with multiple entities in the past, present and future, while simultaneously negotiating the fluctuating power relationships between all animate entities throughout these interactions. All animate entities have the potential to initiate action and obligate reciprocity from all other entities. Through obligation the

archaeologist accepts that the archaeological record will choose to give her gifts and understands that she will then be obligated to give gifts back in return. She also becomes obligated to redistribute these gifts throughout each of the community networks that have been established through the individual relationships into which she enters. The exchange of gifts, which represents reciprocal action, between all animate entities involved in archaeology signals both the mobility of the power relationships between individuals, and the realization that the past, present and future relationship networks are equally involved and concurrently acting.

Second Quadrant: Relationship with the Native Community

The relationship between me as an archaeologist and the Native community in which I worked was based on circular paradigms. This relationship was undertaken as part of the previously discussed research model and expressed the understandings of circular time, power, and ethics that my development of Aboriginal archaeology incorporated. For the sake of clarity and to facilitate my discussion I have sub-divided the overall relationship into four sections. However, I want to clarify that in practice each of these relationships was interdependent and negotiated simultaneously. In this section I will first present a general context for the relationships by presenting background information on Alexis First Nation as a locale. Then, I will separately discuss each of the relationships I established with Chief Francis Alexis and Council, with the adults in the community, with the Elders I interviewed, and with the adolescents that I included in the fieldwork. Within each of these four discussions I will show how the established relationships relate to the overall paradigm of circularity I utilized and not only express

circular conceptions of power, time, and ethics, but also contribute to the secondary research goals of this archaeological work.

Alexis First Nation

My Masters fieldwork was located at Alexis First Nation in Alberta, Canada. The location of my fieldwork was specifically restricted to the area of Alexis First Nation identified on maps as Alexis Indian Reserve 133, and therefore all references I make to Alexis First Nation are within the single context of Reserve 133. However, Alexis First Nation does have four reserves: Alexis Indian Reserve 133, Alexis Cardinal River Reserve 234, Alexis Elk River 233, and Alexis Whitecourt 232.

Alexis First Nation is a Treaty 6 First Nation and is also a member of the Yellowhead Tribal Council. Treaty 6, which was signed in 1876 at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt, covers central Alberta and Saskatchewan and encompasses 16 Alberta First Nations. Currently, Alexis First Nation is governed by an elected body, which consists of 1 Chief and 6 Councilors, as well as a Band Administrator. The services provided on reserve at Alexis First Nation include housing, education, health and nursing, social services. Band constables and RCMP, fire protection, and municipal infrastructure. As well, there are several locally operated business facilities at Alexis First Nation including a store and gas bar, and a coin laundry. (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2001)

Alexis First Nation is located in the County of Lac Ste. Anne and is approximately 45 minutes by vehicle northwest from the city of Edmonton. It has two access roads from Highway 43, one access road from Secondary Road 633, and one access road from Secondary Road 765. The reserve is located on the north shore of Lac Ste. Anne, which is part of the North Saskatchewan River Basin, Central Alberta. The

area is identified as a boreal mixedwoods ecoregion, and is primarily covered by trembling aspen and balsam poplar. Although the areas adjacent to Alexis First Nation have been cleared for agriculture, the land encompassed by the reserve remains predominantly wooded. (Mitchell and Prepas, 1990, 335, 412)

Alexis First Nation is part of the Siouan Dakota linguistic group and the dominant Aboriginal language spoken on reserve is Stoney. The people of Alexis First Nation originally came from areas in Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota and are related to the Siouan Lakota and Dakota. However, at some point the Stoney people of Alexis First Nation permanently settled on a small portion of their traditional hunting grounds at Lac Ste. Anne. Although the permanent move to Lac Ste. Anne is attributed by some authors to the signing of Treaty 6, it is common knowledge among Stoney people at Alexis First Nation that one of their leaders had a vision involving the lake and a woman dressed in white, and that was the reason for their relocation. Currently, there are approximately 1,330 people registered as members of Alexis First Nation. Many intermarriages between Cree and Stoney people have occurred and the Cree language is also commonly spoken on reserve. (Hungry Wolf and Hungry Wolf, 1989, 51-58; Personal communication, Chief Francis Alexis, 1999; Personal communications, Melody Rain, 1999)

The people at Alexis First Nation self-identify as either members of the Catholic Church or as traditionalists who practice Native American spirituality. Many people on reserve perceive a dichotomy between these two spiritual traditions, both in practice and in membership. Indeed, there is often a certain amount of perceptible tension when discussing the general issue of spirituality and specifically membership in either group, or

the informal relationships between the groups. However, it seems that most people expect the dominant religious mode to be set by the elected Chief, and clearly identify the spiritual tradition that the Chief follows when relating information about him. For example, I was told many times, in both informal and formal contexts, that the past Chief had been Catholic, while the present Chief was a traditionalist. (E.g., Personal communications, Melody Rain, 1999; Personal communications, Nathan Kyme, 1999)

It was also my experience that although most people clearly identify themselves as belonging to one or the other spiritual tradition, in practice most people conflate traditions to some extent, specifically in their attendance at religious events hosted by either tradition. The clearest example of this is presented in the Pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne, which occurs for one week every July. This event was undertaken historically as a part of traditional Native spirituality and is currently undertaken as a part of Catholic spirituality. The entire population of the reserve participates in this event, to lesser or greater degrees depending on personal inclination, while even the Band Offices are officially closed for part of the pilgrimage time. The event itself, while being identified as an explicitly Catholic pilgrimage, incorporates many traditional Native American spiritual elements and, in my opinion, clearly exemplifies religious syncretism.

In order to situate Alexis First Nation as the site of my research the last point that I am going to briefly touch on is other research that has previously been done at or around Alexis First Nation. In 1968, Raoul Randall Anderson undertook research at Alexis First Nation as the basis for his Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Missouri. His unpublished dissertation, An Inquiry Into the Political and Economic Structures of the Alexis Band of Wood Stoney Indians,

1880-1964, was ethnographically based and included field and archival research. In this work Anderson centered his analysis on identifying and understanding the changes in the political and economic structures that were present at Alexis First Nation, from historical to current periods.

In 1978, John Pollock and Wayne Gibbs recorded multiple archaeological sites around Lac Ste. Anne, the inventory of which included flakes, fire broken rock (FBR), stone tools including scrapers, cores, unifaces, bifaces, and a projectile point base, and a hearth. These sites were recorded as part of a survey permitted by the Archaeological Survey of Alberta (ASA Permit #78-50), and were given Borden numbers, FkPp-1, FkPp-2, FkPp-3, FkPp-4, FkPp-5, FkPp-6, FkPo-5, FkPo-6, FkPo-7, FkPo-8, FkPo-9, FkPo-10, and FkPn-8. (See Appendix I for complete forms and Figure 11 for a map locating the sites) In conjunction with this survey, John Pollock prepared a brief archaeological study of the area in 1979 for publication in the Occasional Papers series published by the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, "Archaeological Research in the Parkland and Northeastern Boreal Forest, 1978, Permit Numbers 78-21, 78-50, 78-48, 78-49". In subsection, "Project 78-50. Archaeological Survey of the Isle Lake, Lac Ste. Anne, Sturgeon River Basin" (Pollock, 1979, 58-59), a two page summary of the project, Pollock recommended two sites for further excavation (FkPp-4 and FkPo-6). He concluded that because the other sites, and most of the area surrounding Lac Ste. Anne had been severely impacted by development, the majority of the archaeological work in the area could be considered salvage archaeology. (Pollock, 1979, 58)

In 1995, Steve Simon produced a book on the Lac Ste. Anne pilgrimage, Healing Waters: The Pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne. Simon is a documentary photographer whose

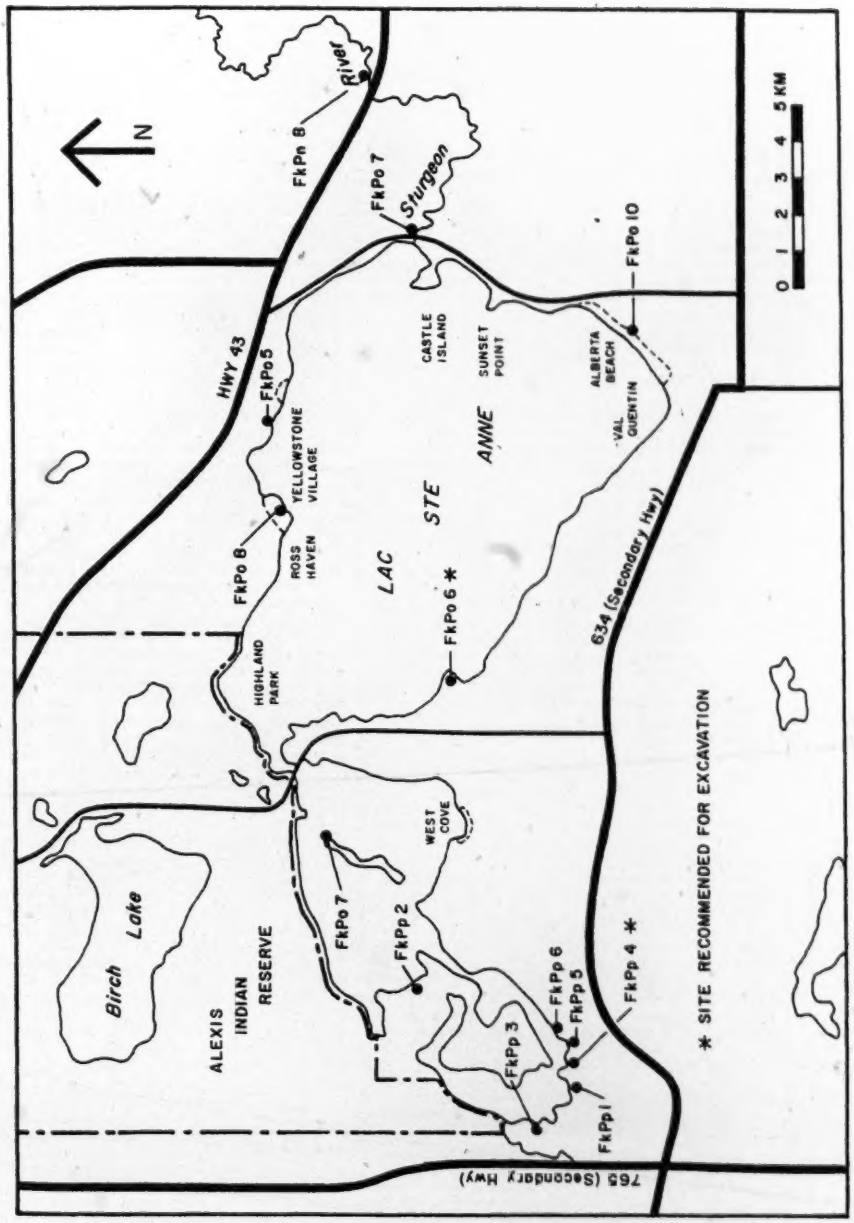

Figure 21: Location of sites within the 1977 Sturgeon River survey area.

Figure 11: Project 78-50. Location of archaeological sites in 1978.

(Pollock, 1979, 59)

textual work presents both historical and current Native understandings of the pilgrimage, through the incorporation of information from multiple interviews and archival or academic sources. However, this book is primarily a visual record of the pilgrimage and concentrates on presenting photographs taken at Lac Ste. Anne by Simon from 1988 to 1994.

Current research that is being undertaken at Alexis First Nation includes a Traditional Land Use Study in partnership between Alexis First Nation, Millar Western Forest Products LTD, and researchers in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta. This project was begun in 1999 and continues active research up until the present time. Barry Mustus acts as the primary liaison within Alexis First Nation for this study, while Cliff Hickey and David Natcher are jointly the primary researchers within the University of Alberta. Other researchers from the University have included Andie Palmer, Pia Wilkinson-Chapman, and me. At this point, I need to state that my archaeological research at Alexis First Nation was initially intended to be Cultural Resource Management undertaken in conjunction with, and in support of, the overall Traditional Land Use Study. However, my research has diverged to a certain extent from this original purpose and while information is shared and co-operation is maintained, my research has for all intents and purposes become an independent project.

Relationships with Chief Francis Alexis and Council

The relationship between Chief Francis Alexis and Council and me was based on the underlying paradigm of circularity. The Chief and Council of Alexis First Nation explicitly represented the living Native community that exists in the present, and as such, the relationship incorporated circular understandings of time. More importantly though,

my relationship with Chief Francis Alexis and the Council was specifically meant to express the underlying circular paradigm of power that has been previously explained. Therefore, in order to meet the primary research goal of developing an Aboriginal archaeology based on circular paradigms and a secondary research goal of contributing to better relations between archaeology and Aboriginal people, I entered into a formal relationship with Alexis First Nation that acknowledged our equal partnership in the archaeological project that I undertook on reserve land.

First, I established relationships with Chief Francis Alexis and the Alexis Council in conjunction with the other researchers involved in the Traditional Land Use Study and then maintained these relationships with Chief Francis Alexis and Council as an independent researcher. Second, I understood that the ongoing relationship negotiations incorporated both my researcher relationships with the general community as expressed through its leadership and my subordinate relationship with an Indigenous, sovereign, political body. Because of the circular paradigms that the power relationship was based on, at times I was clearly in a less powerful position within the context of our relationship while at other times I was in a more powerful position, as can be seen in the following examples.

One example of my less powerful position was presented in the matter of locating an archaeological site to excavate. During a meeting with Chief Francis Alexis and Council on August 1, 2000 I discussed several areas on reserve that I had identified as being potential sites for excavation.[9] During the course of the discussion there was a

[9] Within the context of this discussion, I will only be considering the implications of this event for the relationship between myself and the Chief and Council. However, on page 107 in the subsection dealing with site locating I will be discussing this example again as it relates to archaeological method.

strong preference expressed for another site, particularly by Chief Francis Alexis, which was disturbed and thus was one of the areas that I specifically did not want to excavate. However, in order to act within the circular understandings of power that underlay my research I needed to recognize that I was not in the more powerful position and that Chief and Council could, and were, obligating me through their choice of a site. Therefore, I deliberately accepted my obligation and excavated in the site chosen by Chief Francis Alexis.

It became clearer that circular power was the framework under which we were all operating as an example of my more powerful position was presented within the context of this same meeting. During my fieldwork in both 1999 and 2000, a general concern about artifacts being 'stolen' from Native people in the past and in the present was continually expressed to me during informal conversations with most community members. It was one of my students who most clearly expressed this fear in the specific context of my work, when she asked me what was going to happen to the artifacts we excavated. (Personal communications, Monique Letandre, 1999) The circular paradigm of power that was incorporated into my relationships placed me in the more powerful position within the context of this question. It was clear to me that the Chief and Council, as well as the general community, recognized that I was in a position to act in regards to this facet of our relationship. Indeed, I chose to obligate them through my announcement at the meeting that I intended to rebury the artifacts on reserve rather than turn them over to a more conventional storage facility, provincial or federal.[10]

[10] Again, within the context of this discussion, I am only considering the implications of this event for the relationship between myself and the Chief and Council. However, on page 105 in the subsection dealing with researcher behavior I will be discussing this example and its impacts on my relationship with the

However, the primary example of both creating a reciprocal relationship with the community, and recognizing the Chief and Council as the current expression of the communities autonomy, was exemplified through the archaeological dig permit. I chose not to obtain an excavation permit from the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, which has authority over Provincial archaeological resources and regulates excavations on Provincial land.[11] In conjunction with this deliberate choice, I did not obtain permission from any Federal archaeological body. I decided that because my fieldwork and archaeological excavation took place within the boundaries of Alexis First Nation's reserve land, to acknowledge any other political group as having power or jurisdiction over that reserve would not be compatible with the circular paradigms through which I was developing my archaeology. Therefore, Chief Francis Alexis and Council were the only authority from which I requested permission to excavate and they granted me verbal permission during our brief meeting on August 1, 2000.

Relationships with Adults

My relationships with the adult community at Alexis First Nation were minimal in comparison to the other relationships that I established. The previously discussed relationship with Chief Francis Alexis and Council was the most well developed example of a relationship between me and the adult community and was the primary relationship that I actively pursued. However, there were some secondary relationships, both positive and negative, with other adults that spontaneously emerged throughout the time of my fieldwork. Most of these relationships were created because of encounters at the locales

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archaeological record, while on page 118 in the subsection dealing with artifact handling I will be discussing it again as it relates to archaeological method.

[11] However, I will point out that throughout my research the Survey was kept aware of what I was doing through the person of Dr. David Link, who provided me with advice, comments, suggestions, and interest.

where I was present, which in 1999 was the Alexis Health Center and in 2000 was the excavation site, AFN-1. However, I need to emphasize that each of the following relationships was predicated through my existing relationship with the Chief and Council and the permission they gave me to engage in research on the reserve. Without the approval of the Chief and Council, and the legitimacy this approval gave me, none of these following relationships would have existed.

I first met Martha Letandre, a health services youth worker, at the Alexis Health Center. As I have already discussed my relationship with her in regards to how the number four is an important organizing principle, here I will only briefly touch on the other aspects of our relationship. Martha initially contacted me requesting more information regarding the archaeological project I was undertaking at Alexis. After establishing that the Chief and Council had approved this project, we discussed both the overall project and specifics about how I intended to undertake archaeology on the reserve (Personal communication, Letandre, 1999).

Martha was enthusiastic about the prospect of exposing teenagers to archaeology, science, and academics and placed two students with me for summer work experience during July and August of 1999. During this time, she also allowed me to use common rooms at the Health Center for interviews, introduced me to other women who worked at the Health Center and other post-secondary students who were also working with youth at Alexis for the summer, and gave me some advice on situations that I encountered during my fieldwork.

Through my contact with Martha and the Alexis Health Center, I began to interact with other adults in the community. These interactions took place at the Health Center or

on the benches outside, were primarily informal, and usually brief, on average lasting no more that 30 minutes. A typical interaction would begin when I was asked who I was and what I was doing at the Health Center. I would respond by listing my university affiliations and my family connections, and then briefly giving an overview of the archaeological project in which I was engaged. Once I addressed the common concerns that were almost always expressed about archaeologists digging up graves or robbing Natives of artifacts and after stressing that the Chief and Council had approved of my presence on the reserve, the conversations would generally turn to the adult offering me suggestions about where potential archaeological sites on reserve could be found. In conjunction with these suggestions, I was often told stories about someone finding artifacts, what they had found, and what had finally happened to the person, the site, or the artifact.

It was through these interactions with the adult community and the women who worked at the Health Center, that the desire of the general community to have their children exposed to archaeology emerged. I received several direct inquiries about whether or not I would show children what archaeology was and how to practice archaeology. However, most of the interest in this application of my research activities was obliquely expressed through the leading questions that were asked of me during informal discussions and the positive body language that then manifested when I responded that this was an application that I intended to pursue actively. Indeed, the overwhelming approval, conveyed by the adults, for these educational and public aspects of archaeology strongly contributed to my increasing development of a youth-oriented research focus throughout this thesis.

There were two, more negative, encounters that took place during my field work which further indicated to me that acknowledging Chief Francis Alexis and Council as my primary regulatory authority was the only acceptable decision for the community. Twice during the summer of 2000 adults of the community approached me at the excavation site, AFN-1, in a threatening or intimidating manner. Once, two women, one of whom had a hatchet prominently displayed, came on site and were very hostile until I immediately clarified that Chief and Council had approved my presence and that indeed, I was exactly where they had requested me to be. Once this was stated, the women became very interested in my activities and had a great deal of advice and admonitions to impart to me. The second encounter was when three men came to the site several times over the course of one afternoon, in an increasingly incoherent state. They acted in an intimidating manner until I again clarified that Chief Francis Alexis both knew where I was and was pleased with the archaeological project being on reserve. Once this was established, they became interested, polite, made reference to their relationships with Chief Francis Alexis, joked, and wanted to be photographed. It was clear to me that their authority to question the legitimacy of my presence on-reserve and my ability to effect their leaving the site, were both stemming from the single source of Chief Francis Alexis' powerful position.

Relationships with Elders

The Elders of Alexis First Nation symbolically represented the deceased community that existed in the past, and my relationships with them primarily expressed the previously discussed circular understandings of time, rather than the circular understandings of power which dominated my relationships with Chief and Council and

the adults in the community. The relationships that I entered into with Elders both explicitly acknowledged their position as embodiments of the accumulated wisdom of past relationship networks and were understood as exemplifying the immediate existence of the past in the present-day community. Furthermore, I considered the information that the Elders of Alexis First Nation chose to give to me as a parallel to the information that the archaeological record chose to give me. In this sense, through the primary research goal of using a circular paradigm as the base for archaeological work, my established relationships with Elders contributed to a secondary research goal of incorporating oral knowledge and physical knowledge, as both types of formatting were understood to contain the same essential information.

The summer work experience students and I formally interviewed four individuals in July and August of 1999, during part of my first field season: Louise Potts, Raymond Potts, Chief Francis Alexis, and Florastine Alexis. As well, Fred Alexis, Florastine's brother, was present during her interview and participated actively. (See Figure 12 for an illustrated diagram of the interviewees.) However, because Fred Alexis was not the primary interviewee, the following general comments do not always apply to him. Some of the individuals we interviewed self-identified as Elders and some did not. All interviewees were offered tobacco, which everyone accepted, and an honorarium, which only some accepted. Some chose to give written consent and some chose to give verbal consent for their interviews to be recorded and pictures taken. All of the interviews were audio taped while the students took written notes. 35mm slide pictures were taken during each interview of the interviewers and interviewee(s). As well, the interviews with Raymond Potts, Chief Francis Alexis, and Florastine Alexis were video taped. Copies of

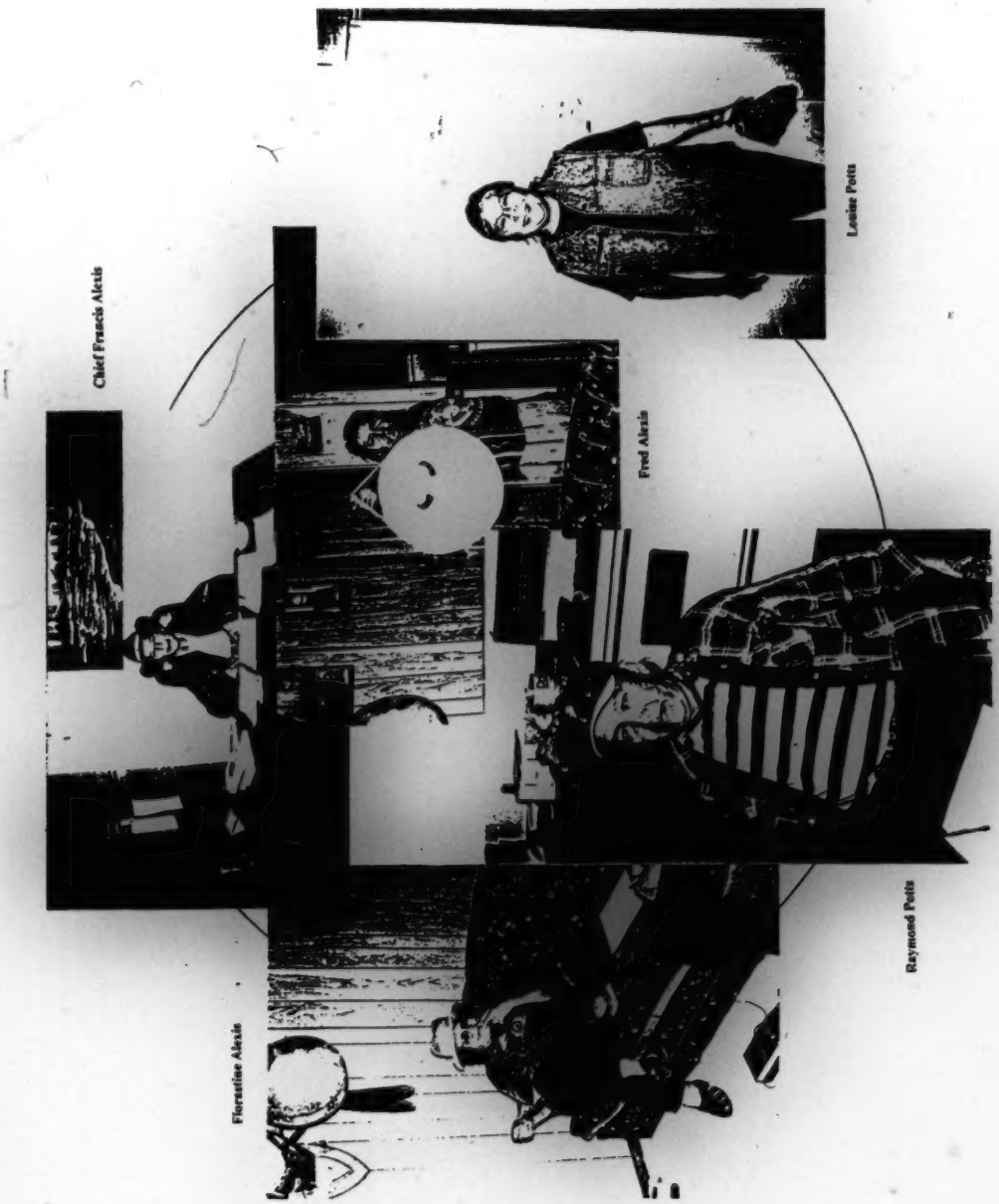


Figure 12: Elders Interviewed at Alexis First Nation

their audio tapes, video tapes, and some of the photographs were given to Louise Potts, Raymond Potts, Chief Francis Alexis, and Florastine Alexis.

Initially, I had intended to interview only women as one of my original research goals, in tandem with Cultural Resource Management, was to test a gendered predictive model for locating sites within a Boreal setting. However, this goal underwent substantial revision as my fieldwork developed, similar to the revision of the goal of Cultural Resource Management, and in the end became a secondary research goal of developing a gendered practice of archaeology which was consistent with traditional Aboriginal women's behaviors. The people at Alexis generally approved of incorporating gender into the research goals, and there was some favorable comment when they learned that I, a woman researcher, was intending to only deal with women's things. Thus, while I sought out the women I interviewed, the men I interviewed specifically requested that I interview them.

Louise Potts was the first person the students and I interviewed. She presented somewhat of an 'outsiders' viewpoint as she had married into the reserve from the Paul Band. Louise Potts told us about traditional subsistence activities, in terms of berry picking and plant gathering. She concentrated not only on the physical activity but also on clarifying the correct behavior that a person should display when doing these activities, such as giving tobacco and being aware of the berries and tobacco as an exchange of gifts. Louise Potts described trying to pass this knowledge onto her children and grandchildren through taking them out into the bush with her and showing them how to do these activities. One area of concern that she identified was how young people's understandings of relatedness are now incorporating Western systems of kinship, rather

than remaining entirely based on traditional Aboriginal systems of kinship. (Personal communication, L. Potts, 1999)

Raymond Potts was the second interview that the students and I did. He concentrated on telling us about traditional relationships between people, through telling a story, giving experiences from his own life, and talking about how and when to take photographs and give tobacco. Through the course of his interview Raymond Potts eventually identified himself as a relative of mine, through a relationship he had with my uncle, Eugene Steinhauer. Raymond Potts talked about trying to teach his children that it is important to help others, to take pride in your behavior, and to be private in your personal life and discussed how he had learned these values from his parents. One area of concern he identified was changes that are occurring in the traditional Aboriginal social format of extended families. (Personal communication, R. Potts, 1999)

Chief Francis Alexis was the third person that we talked to. He told us about subsistence and ceremonial activities, both those that had been practiced traditionally and those that were occurring presently. Chief Francis Alexis talked about many of the different plants and animals that people collected and hunted on reserve. He gave a great many of the Stoney names for places, plants and animals that were accessible on reserve. Chief Francis Alexis told us about how stones are considered to be alive by traditional Stoney people and how different stones are chosen for special ceremonies. He also told us how the Stoney people came to be at Lac Ste. Anne and how it was because of a vision about the lake that their leader had had in the past. When I asked Chief Francis Alexis when this event had happened, he would not date the event and so I became aware that I had asked an inappropriate question. The area of concern that Chief Francis Alexis

identified was how people now are eating prepackaged and processed foods rather than traditional foods, which are healthier. (Personal communication, Chief Francis Alexis, 1999)

Florastine Alexis was the primary interviewee in the fourth interview that the students and I did. She was the individual we had arranged to meet with and she was the one to whom we offered tobacco and an honorarium. Florastine Alexis told us about traditional subsistence activities, in terms of hunting, trapping, and processing animals. She talked about how she had been taught to do all these things by her parents and family. Florastine Alexis told stories about how she had owned a trap line in the past, how she had trapped more animals especially when she was younger, and how she had once shot a bear on the trap line. She showed us her work area, which she used to process hides and smoke meat, and told us how she and her relatives shared meat and hides. Florastine Alexis talked about how she tried to teach the younger members of her family how to do these things as well as why it was important to share what you had. The area of concern Florastine Alexis identified was how many young people today did not know how to make hides or process meat. (Personal communication, Florastine Alexis, 1999)

Fred Alexis was the secondary interviewee in the fourth interview. He was present during the beginning and end of Florastine's interview, which occurred at her house that he occupied with her. Fred Alexis showed us a number of traditional items he owned, had made or had received as gifts, including his drum, his coat, and his moccasins. He also showed us some herbal medicines that he had collected and processed. During the middle of the interview, when we went outside to the work area, Florastine showed us his herb-drying house, which we could not enter or photograph. She

explained that they had put this house outside their residence because menstruating women could not be around some of the medicines and, as not everyone who came to visit knew that, it was safer to have the medicines stored separately from the living area. Fred Alexis concentrated on showing us things more than talking and he wanted all of the things he showed photographed. (Personal communication, Fred Alexis, 1999)

Each of the Elders had a great deal of important information to impart to the students and me. While some chose to state their knowledge clearly others were more oblique, choosing to communicate knowledge through indirect means; therefore their silences or lack of response contained the most significant information. However, all of the Elders not only modeled correct behavior for me, but also verbally clarified what they considered proper behaviors and attitudes through examples from their lives, stories, and their comments on behavior that they saw occurring around them.

Relationships with youth

The youth of Alexis First Nation symbolically represented the presence of the yet-to-be-born community that exists in the future. Therefore, my interactions with young people were intended to acknowledge the ongoing existence of the future in the present community and through this express the previously discussed circular conceptions of time. However, my interactions with youth were also meant to reflect my relationship position as a mentor whereby academic and community information or knowledge would be passed first to me and then on to younger individuals and in this way express the previously discussed conceptions of circular power relationships. The actions that were incorporated into my relationships with youth were examples of connected action, acts

that were based both on a multi-layered understanding of time and on an understanding of reciprocal obligation.

To illustrate these understandings of connected action on which my relationships with youth were based I will discuss two complementary methods of youth involvement that I initiated throughout the process of my field research. Each of these two methods of youth involvement was successful at exposing individual teenagers from Alexis First Nation to the process of archaeology. Both methods resulted in the youth emerging with a generally positive outlook towards archaeology, while emphasizing their conscious awareness of how they were experiencing a developing method of Aboriginal archaeology rather than the traditional practices of archaeology. Indeed, it was often their awareness of the Aboriginal nature of the archaeology that resulted in their positive interpretation of the experience.

I arranged for four teenage students to work with me during July and August of 1999: Nathan Kyme, Melody Rain, Monique Letandre, and Chasidy Alexis. They were formally employed by Alexis First Nation through the Youth Employment Program or the Health Center and were placed with me for temporary summer employment. All four teenagers assisted me in every aspect of my research during that first summer including general community relations, interviewing elders, mapping some areas on reserve, and preliminary identification of several areas with archaeological potential. Nathan, Melody, Monique, and Chasidy provided me with a critique of archaeology and anthropology, insight into their understandings of dynamics on the reserve, both traditionally-based and contemporary, an inventory of over 100 places on reserve, and an understanding of how much traditional knowledge they already had.

In the second field season, two teenage students worked with me for part of August, 2000: Nathan Kyme and Jody H.[12] Nathan and Jody were again employed by Alexis First Nation through the Youth Employment Program and placed with me for temporary summer employment. They assisted me in most aspects of my research during the second summer including surveying the general site area, establishing site datums, clearing the ground cover, staking the units, and preliminary excavating. Unfortunately, the second year of working with individual students did not go as well as the first year had, and an alternate means of including youth from Alexis First Nation into the project had to be developed. (See Figure 13 for an illustration of the first youth relationship.)

Therefore the second means of involving young people in the project was developed through holding fieldtrip days at the archaeological site. I invited the Alexis First Nation School to participate and offered times when teachers could sign up to have their classes come on site for half a day. In September and October of 2000, I ran three fieldtrip days at the archaeological site for four grades (grades 5, 6, 8, and social 20) and did one in-class presentation (grade 4) for the school. (See Figure 14 for an illustration of this second youth relationship)

The students on each of the fieldtrips got to handle some of the artifacts that had been excavated, try excavating in the North Unit with trowel and screen, map the site, catalogue artifacts, and offer their comments on both archaeology and the fieldtrip. (See Appendix II for a complete listing of their comments.) They also entered into a dialogue with me discussing what activities might have been undertaken in the past at the site, and

[12]Unlike the rest of my students, Jody H. did not complete her minor waiver form and therefore cannot be identified by her complete name. As well, I will only be using images of Jody H. that do not completely identify her.

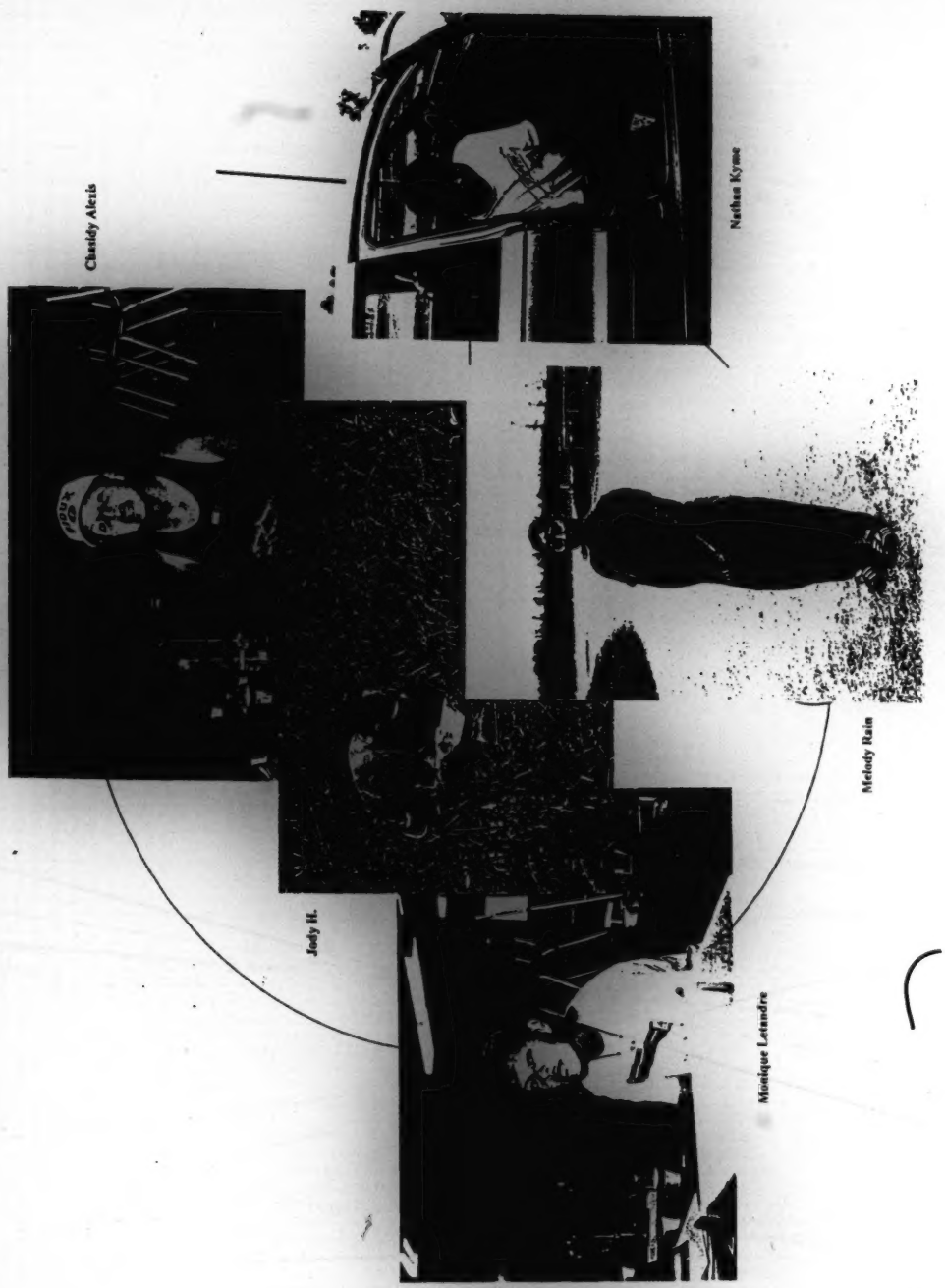


Figure 13: Individual students at Alexis First Nation

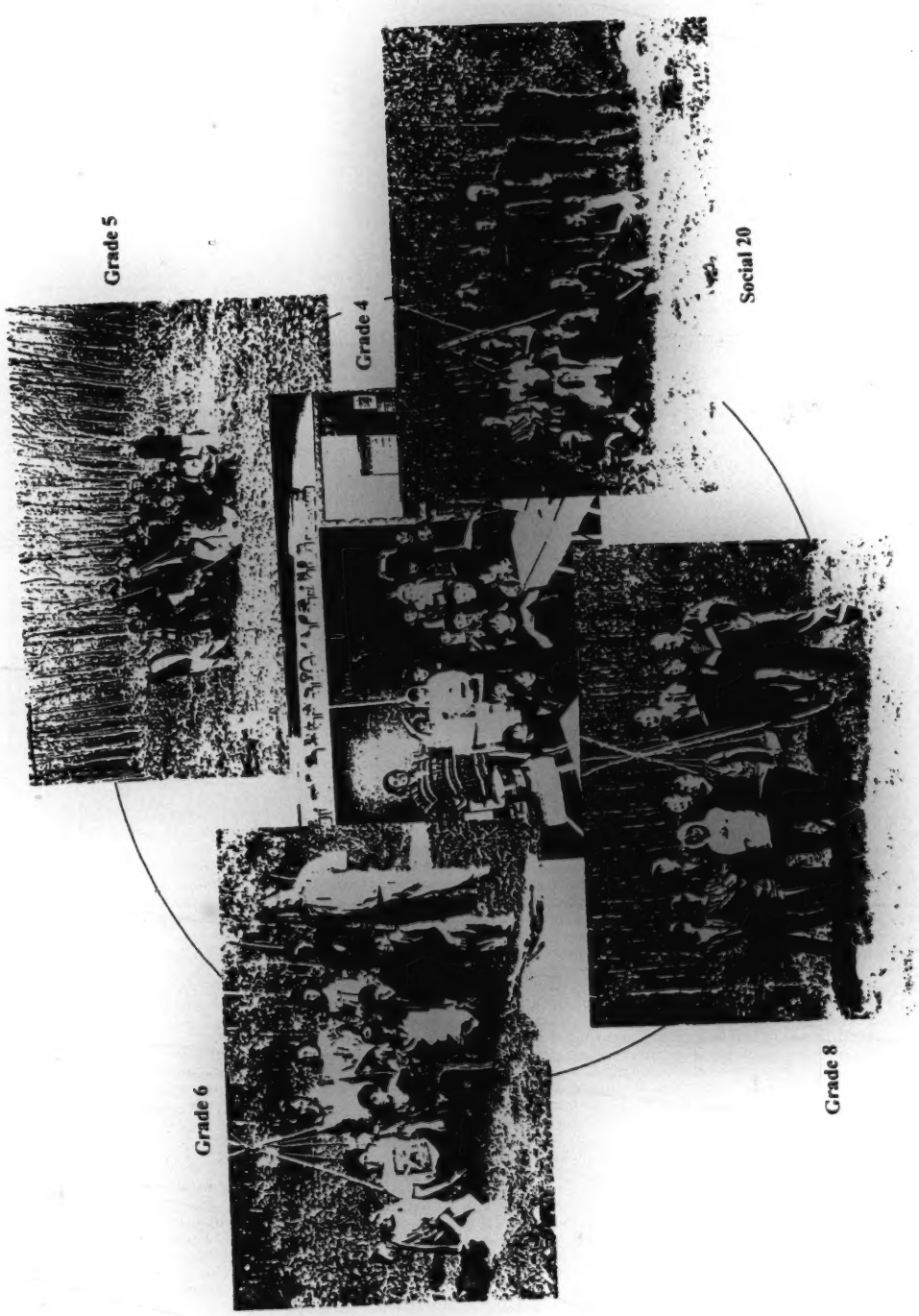


Figure 14: Fieldtrip Classes at Alexis First Nation

most of them clearly considered the presence of fire-broken rock to indicate that a ceremonial sweat had happened there.

Overall, it seemed to me that both methods of youth involvement worked well. When there were individual work experience students, the information exchange was both more specific and more informal. When there were classes of students on the fieldtrips the information exchange was more impression oriented and generalized. In particular the students who participated in the fieldtrips responded in several ways that indicated to me that my development of Aboriginal archaeology was resonant, traditionally based, and very successful. Several male students in the first fieldtrip for Social 20 spontaneously responded to my circular excavation units by beginning to drum and sing on the North Unit, while a female student in the in-class presentation told me that I was making a medicine wheel with the entire site.

However, beyond the positive exchanges that took place between individual youth and myself, I need to emphasize that having community youth involved throughout the project was a key component that was of primary importance for the community in general. It indicated to the community at Alexis First Nation that I was operating under a circular worldview, understood my obligations, and was engaging in connected action, thereby earning me a substantial amount of goodwill, co-operation, and approval.

Third Quadrant: Relationship with the Archaeological Record

The relationship that I intended to establish between the archaeological record and me was based on the previously discussed Aboriginal circular paradigms which permit the statement that the archaeological record is an animate, powerful entity which

obligates others into a reciprocal relationship. Working within this conceptual framework, my relationship with the archaeological record expressed the circular nature of power, as both she and I actively gave the other gifts and obligated the other's behavior in certain ways. My relationship with the animate archaeological record also incorporated understandings of the circular nature of time, as not only was the archaeological record present as an active player but I also acknowledged that the creators of the archaeological record were present as active participants within the area of the archaeological site.

The relationship that I established and maintained with the archaeological record was the most direct exploration within my fieldwork of my primary research goal: can archaeology be practiced within the framework of Aboriginal paradigms? As the physical basis for, and expression of, my relationship with the animate archaeological record I modified four specific areas of archaeological field methods: researcher behavior, site locating, site form, and unit form. The modifications within each area reflect a unified paradigm shift from traditional archaeology to one in which the archaeological record is viewed as a dominant entity that chooses to give gifts based both on the human observance of proper behaviors and the correct spatial representations of a cohesive worldview.

Researcher behavior

I based my behavior as a researcher on both general resource procurement behavior and on formal ceremonial behavior. I was informed of correct behavior during the previously discussed interviews with Elders at Alexis First Nation and I observed correct behavior during the Sun Dance I attended at Alexis First Nation. As well, I had a

certain amount of previous knowledge regarding correct behavior to draw upon from my experiences with ceremonies and sweats that I had attended in other locations. Because I am a woman, and my development of Aboriginal archaeology is specifically based on my identity as a woman, I followed the traditional women's behavior patterns of which I was informed and that I observed. The resulting mix of 'secular' and 'sacred' appropriate behaviors was my primary model in deciding what was correct and proper behavior for approaching the archaeological record.

Initially, I offered tobacco to the archaeological record in order to give a gift at the beginning of my site establishment and through this gift initiated a reciprocal relationship base with the archaeological record. As well, the tobacco use was intended to express, and was understood in, its complete Aboriginal meaning. It indicated that the relationship between the archaeological record and me was based in all times, past, present and future, included all aspects of the world, mental, physical, emotional and spiritual, and incorporated all animate entities who were present through our relationship networks.

Specifically as a woman archaeologist, I exercised my traditional Aboriginal menstrual privileges and avoided being on site during my menstrual times. This was an especially important aspect of my behavior that was clearly necessary in both sacred and secular contexts. At every ceremonial event I have attended, including the Sun Dance, it has been considered important to be aware of whether or not I am in my 'moon time' (i.e. menstruating). If women are in their moon time, it is considered highly inappropriate to participate in the event. It is often an openly asked question that is especially directed towards women or young girls who are regarded as being unfamiliar with traditional

behaviors. In daily life, often women who are more traditional will take their moon time off work or school, and spend the majority of this time at home.

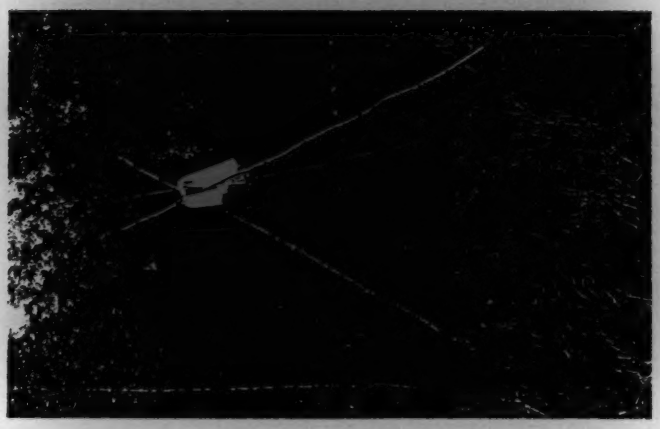
However, because I was the holder of the archaeological site, my menstrual cycle had implications for the entire excavation. During my menstrual times I closed the entire site down and no one worked. Indeed, all my activities at the archaeological site were scheduled around my menstrual times, which I could accurately predict as I had recorded my cycle for some time previous to active fieldwork. In this way I, as the archaeological site holder, was comparable to a female sweat or pipe holder, who also will not host events during her menstrual time.

There was absolutely no alcohol allowed on site as alcohol is considered a pollutant of ceremonial spaces and occasions and is highly offensive. I also abstained from imbibing any alcoholic substances during the entire excavation. As well, narcotic substances were not allowed on site.

As the final exchange of gifts between the archaeological record, and myself the artifacts were returned to the keeping of the archaeological record through their reburial in the original units. This action paralleled the opening of our relationship that was begun with tobacco and indicated that this specific circle was closed. The artifact reburial occurred in the spring of 2001 on June 7. At this time all artifacts from each unit were wrapped in plastic with a brief explanation of the excavation, several site maps, and an offering of tobacco. (Figure 15a) These packages were then buried in the units as part of closing the site, (Figure 15b) tobacco was again given to the archaeological record, and prayer flags were tied at the site (Figure 15c).

a

b



c

Figure 15: Closing the Site

Site locating

In terms of site locating, I ended up making fairly significant changes to traditional archaeological methods as well, although in the beginning I did attempt to maintain a more standard archaeological approach that combined geographical and ethnographic information. As discussed previously, I had done several interviews with Elders during the summer of 1999 centering on their traditional land use and resource procurement. These interviews, combined with information that the work experience students gave me, enabled me to identify three potentially undisturbed locations at Alexis First Nation appropriate for excavation: on the north end of Horse Lake, on the south and east ends of Birch Lake, and on a hill at the north end of the reserve. These three potential locations were not only used for current resource procurement but also conformed to standard archaeological expectations for possible sites within a Boreal ecosystem, as they were located around major water bodies or on ridges of land. (See Figure 16)

During a meeting with Chief Francis Alexis and Council on August 1, 2000, I discussed each of these three locations and asked for community input on choosing the final site for excavation. I had envisioned that the collaborative process between the community and myself would consist first of my initial identification of possible locations, selected through the standard archaeological method of combining a promising geographical location with a corroborating oral tradition. Then second, the collaboration would involve the Chief and Council choosing one of these pre-selected sites. And finally, the specific areas for excavation units would be located by having an Elder come to the site with me and jointly deciding where they would go. However, like many of my

initial goals this one became very different in the end, and the collaborative process was not carried out in this manner.

As was previously discussed, Chief Francis Alexis and Council decided to choose the general area for the excavation. They strongly wanted to place it on the south end of the reserve next to Lac Ste Anne, which was an area I had initially identified as having had too much disturbance and development to consider for excavation (See Figure 16). In their view of the collaborative process then, it appeared that they envisioned that they would represent the community and select a general area for excavation on reserve based on their own perception of what were important criteria in this matter. Next within this process, they then expected that it would be up to me to do whatever work I deemed necessary for actual excavation within this general location, including identifying the specific site and placing the units based on my own perceptions of what were important criteria in this matter.

In this way, I was made aware of and shown how the circular power relations between both Chief and Council and me, and the archaeological record and me were operating within my fieldwork. In this section, however, I will primarily discuss the ramifications for the relationship between the archaeological record and me. In order for my behavior to properly obligate the archaeological record, I had to display behavior based on traditional Aboriginal values and paradigms. By accepting the area that Chief Francis Alexis and Council wanted, my actions consciously expressed the traditional Cree values of obeying (*nanahitaw*), respecting (*kisteyim*), and listening (*nitohtaw*) to my elders, and acting with humility (*tapahteyimiso*) and faith (*tapowakeyihta*) in the outcome. I was also displaying to the archaeological record that I was aware that she was

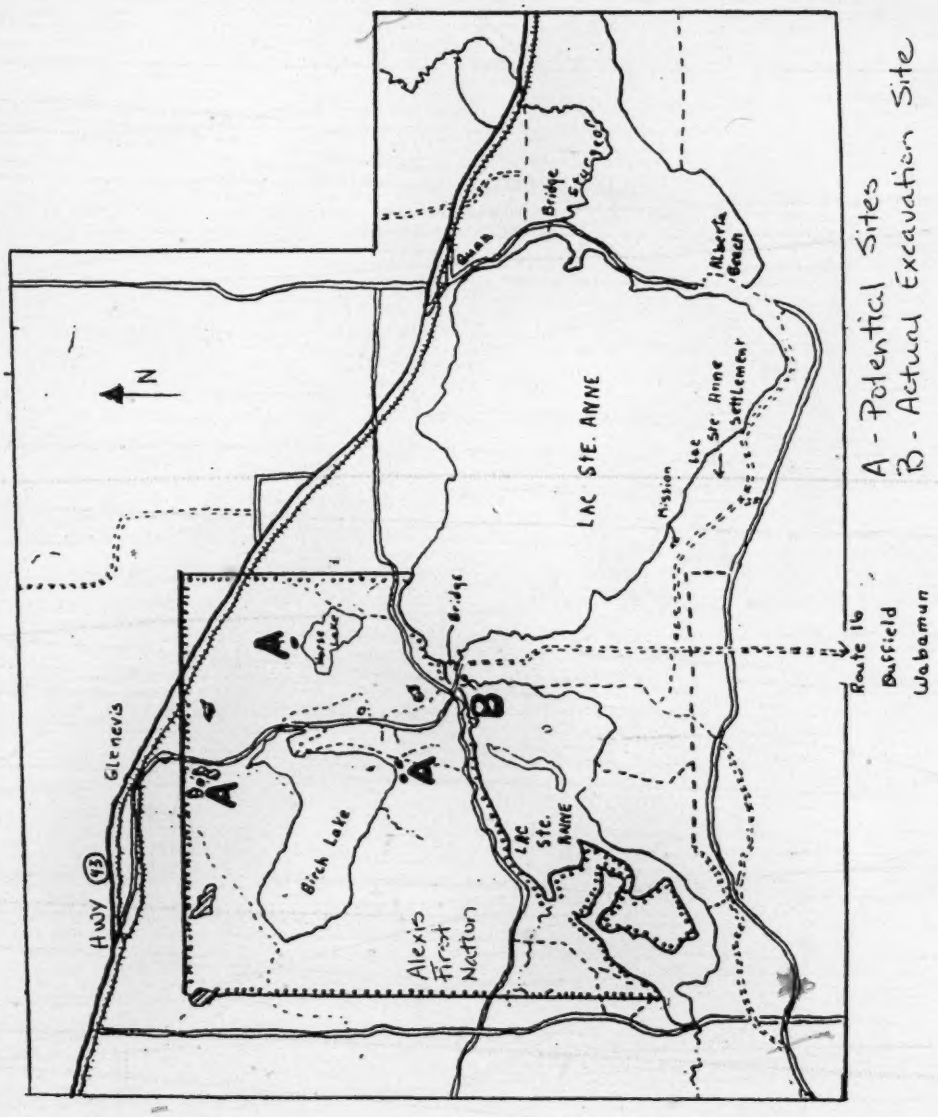


Figure 16: Potential and Actual Excavation Site(s) at Alexis First Nation[13]

Adapted by Tara Million from original map created by Andersen. (Andersen, 1968, 40)

[13] Although the excavation location on the map appears to be off reserve it is located on reserve land. Most of the southern peninsula has been claimed by Alexis First Nation: there are old Sun Dance lodges standing, a reserve campground has been constructed, and this area has been used for hosting religious events in conjunction with the Lac Ste Anne pilgrimage. As well, there is a clearly marked boundary and signs welcoming visitors to Alexis First Nation approximately half way along the peninsula.

animate and that therefore, as she was the most powerful individual within the excavation process, the outcome of the collaboration was ultimately her choice. In other words, I took the view that wherever the site was placed was where she wanted the site placed, and to do anything other than surrender to her would be unforgivably rude.

Therefore, within the general area that the Chief and Council specified, I then chose the exact location of the site after the summer work experience students and I surface surveyed the general area. Nathan, Jody and I did not do any shovel testing to determine what specific area would be most productive. Again, this deliberate choice was based on the idea that it was necessary both to respectfully receive the gifts that the archaeological record chose to give to me and to express traditional Aboriginal values through my behavior. Specifically, I modeled this part of my method after hunting behaviors, which incorporate the idea that an animal will present itself to you in order for you to accept it and that to refuse to accept the animal or 'throw it back' will cause offense and result in no more animals coming to you. I decided that to shovel test would in effect be 'throwing back' the sections of the archaeological record that I did not want to accept and would therefore be highly offensive behavior to the archaeological record.

As part of the general site set up the students and I measured the horizontal datum in towards the east from a highway survey marker without triangulating to a second stake and laid out the site units on an E/W, N/S axis. Both actions incorporated Aboriginal understandings of the proper directionality for building ceremonial architecture and therefore I considered that they expressed the correct behaviors to the archaeological record. (See Figure 17) As I had no permit from the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, and thus no Borden number, I called the site Alexis First Nation #1 (AFN-1).

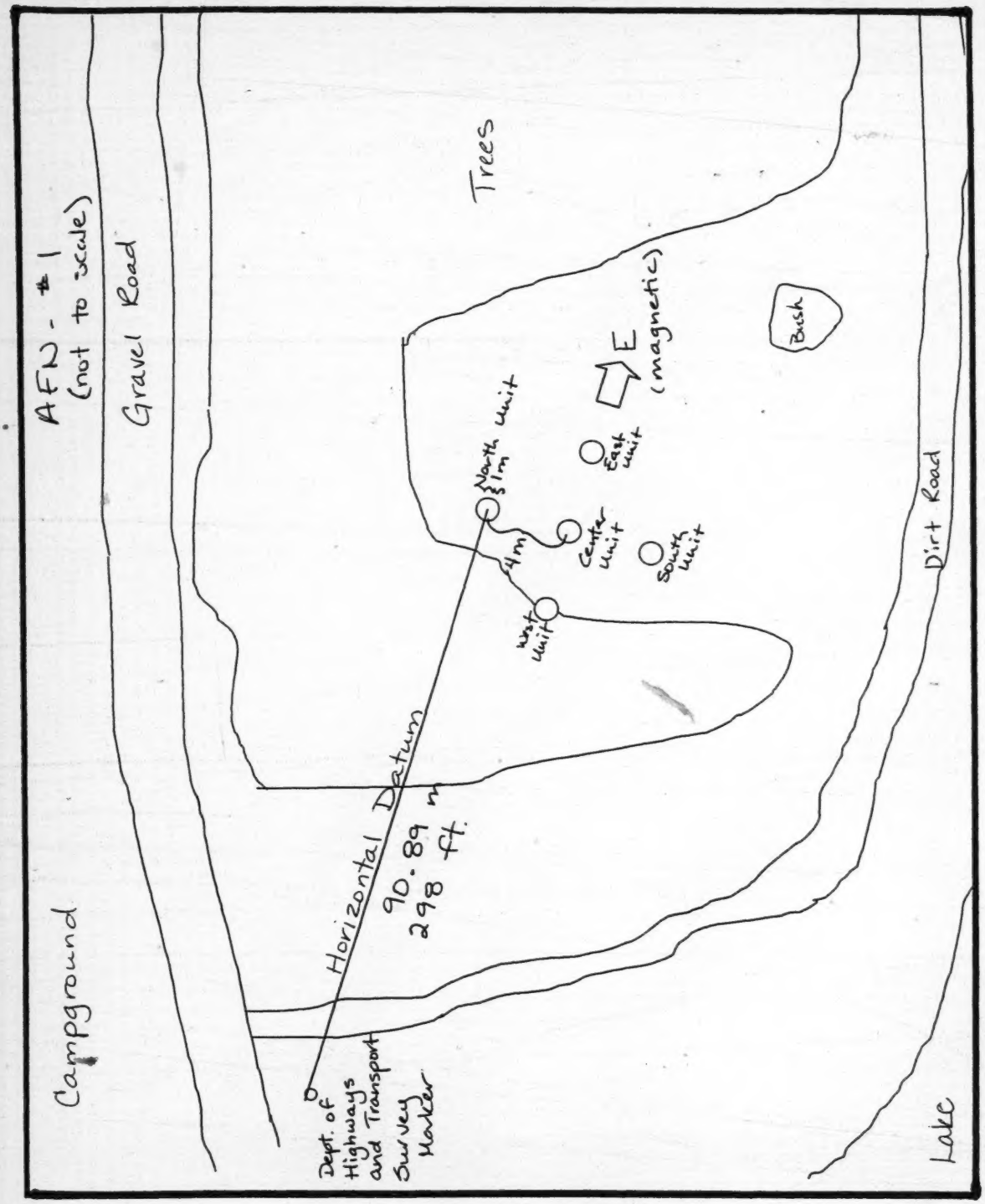


Figure 17: AFN-1 Site Map

Site form

The site form is the next area of archaeological methodology that I restructured from traditional archaeological practice. In this instance, my initial envisioning of how to meet this goal was indeed carried through without modification. Within the Aboriginal framework that underlies my development of Aboriginal archaeology, the archaeological site is specifically meant to be a physical representation of underlying circular values, paradigms, and worldviews. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the archaeological site form replicate the physical architectural forms of more traditional ceremonial structures or sacred spaces. The key to successfully replicating traditional Aboriginal spatial forms is the incorporation of both specific directional orientations and significant number relationships. Therefore the site form included both a directional orientation towards the east, the inclusion of the number four, and was absolutely and explicitly meant to depict a medicine wheel.

In the site layout I established an E/W, N/S axis for placing the locations of the excavation units and then placed the vertical datum stakes to the east of all the units. In this I maintained the traditional method of 'reading' a medicine wheel by beginning in the east. As well, I laid out only 5 units and labeled them Center, East, South, West, and North. I maintained a four-meter distance between units, which was measured from the center of each unit. All five units were laid out with compass and measuring tape and each formed a one-meter circle. (See Figure 18)

The primary goals that the site form embodied were not only the previous discussed value of respectfully accepting the gifts given by the archaeological record, but also the explicit understanding that those gifts were going to be given and received in

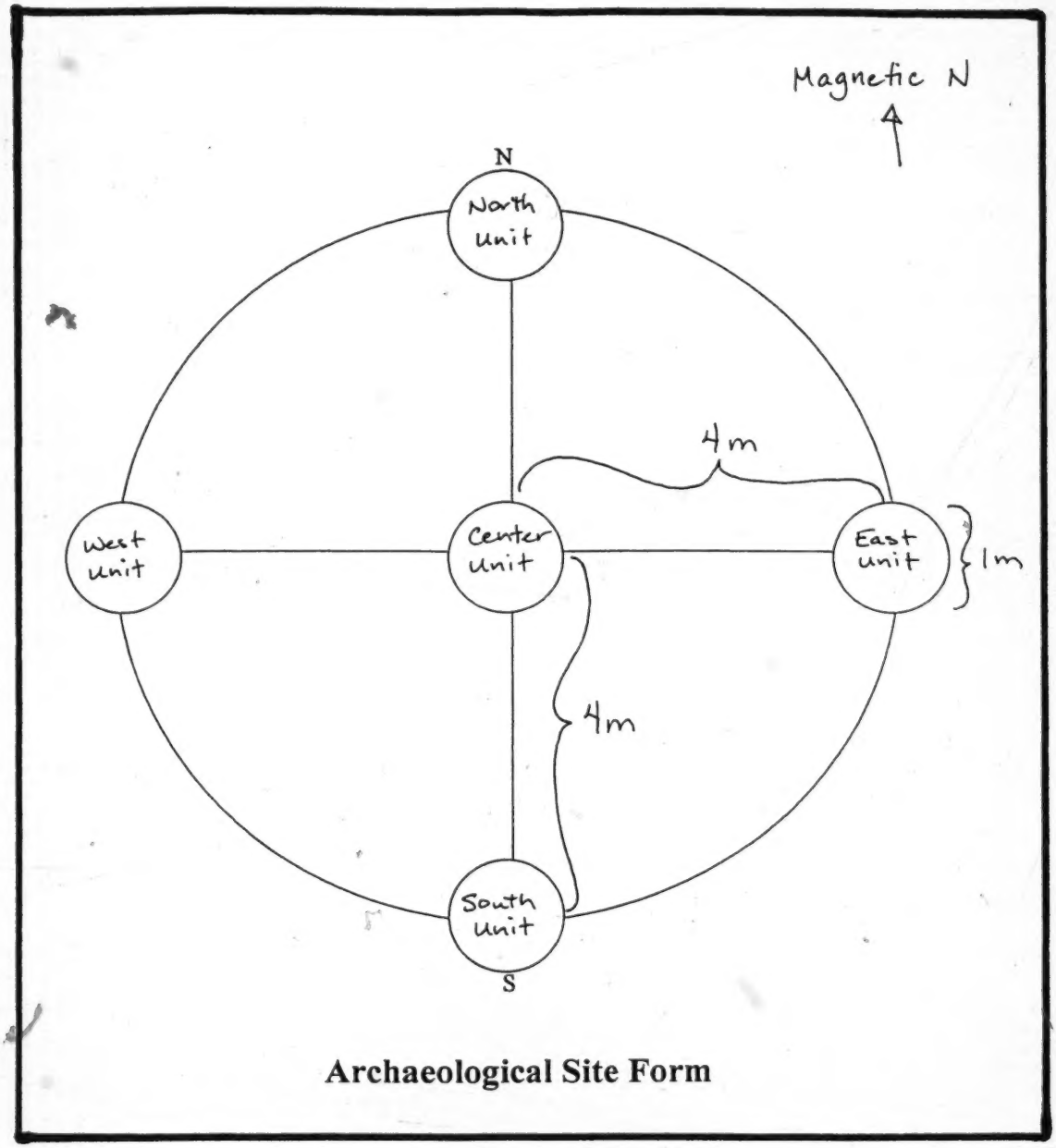


Figure 18: AFN-1 Archaeological Site Form Map

moderation. This is again an area that I modeled after traditional hunting behavior, where to hunt excessively is offensive behavior and will result in no animals coming to the hunter. Therefore, within Aboriginal archaeology identifying the areas within the site that are to remain unexcavated is as important as identifying the units which are to be excavated.

Unit form

The modifications that I planned to make, and did successfully make, to unit forms repeated those of the site form. In this sense, my modifications of the archaeological site and excavation units deliberately incorporated the underlying complexity and multi-layered nature of circular paradigms. Thus not only the form but also the nature of my archaeological site expressed the proper traditional Aboriginal behaviors based on traditional Aboriginal paradigms and sustained the reciprocal relationship between the archaeological record and myself.

Each unit repeated the N/S, E/W axis and was then further divided into four quadrants using compass and measuring tape, again deliberately and explicitly depicting multiple medicine wheels within the larger wheel. (See Figure 19) However, the most significant aspect of these units is their tangible representation of the syncratic elements of this development of Aboriginal archaeology that have so far been most clearly expressed theoretically. The circular units both incorporated a symbolic and physical expression of the underlying Aboriginal paradigms I used and were absolutely functional within the accepted framework for archeological excavation and record keeping.

The functionality of the circular units within a standard archaeological framework can clearly be seen in the following description of field methodology. After the units

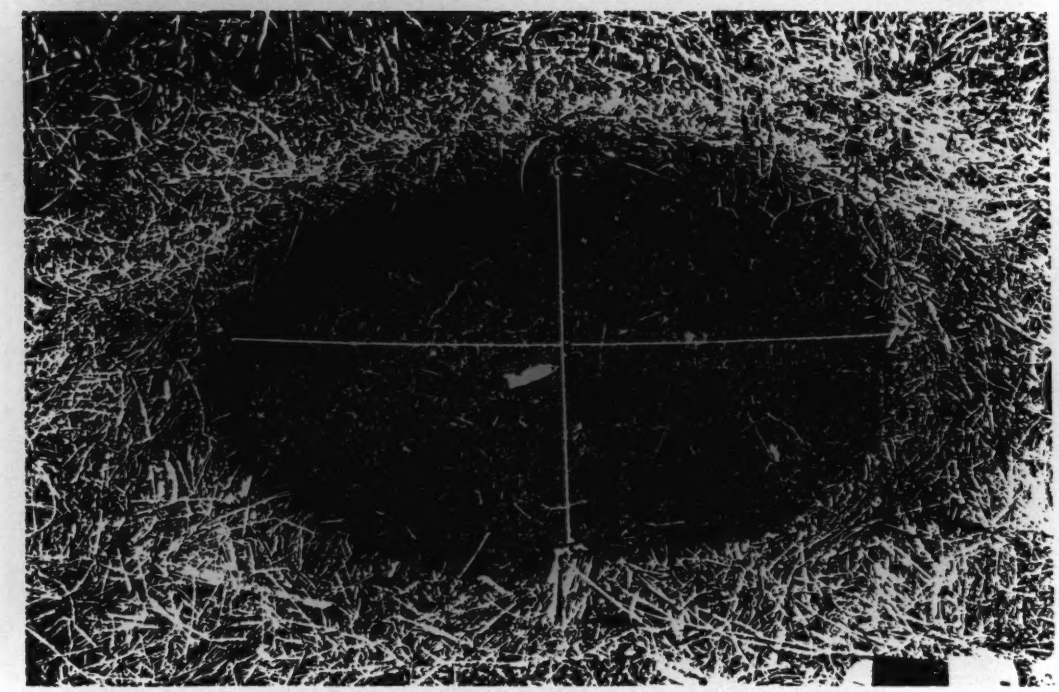


Figure 19: AFN-1 Excavation Unit (Center)

were initially laid out, each unit had a root mat, which was present in significant amounts throughout the site, cleared off with root clippers. This clearing was done to dirt level based on each individual excavator's judgement. After that was accomplished all of the units were leveled off evenly to 15cm depth below datum. Then the excavators proceeded using 5-cm arbitrary levels. Throughout the excavation all excavators used only trowels and ¼ inch screening.

The artifacts from each unit were consistently numbered and those numbers identified the unit, level, and number of artifacts in each level. For example, 'E-2-8-e'

indicated 'East unit-2nd level [15cmdbd-20cmdbd]-8th artifact found-5th artifact in this particular group association'. (See Figure 20) Therefore, record keeping complied with the standard archaeological method of recording artifacts within a three dimensional strata through the use of three types of measurement that were adapted for a circular unit: depth below datum, centimeters from center, and degrees from East.

Fourth Quadrant: Relationship with Interpretation

The basis of my relationship with both the data analysis that precedes interpretation and the reporting that communicates interpretations was the ethical

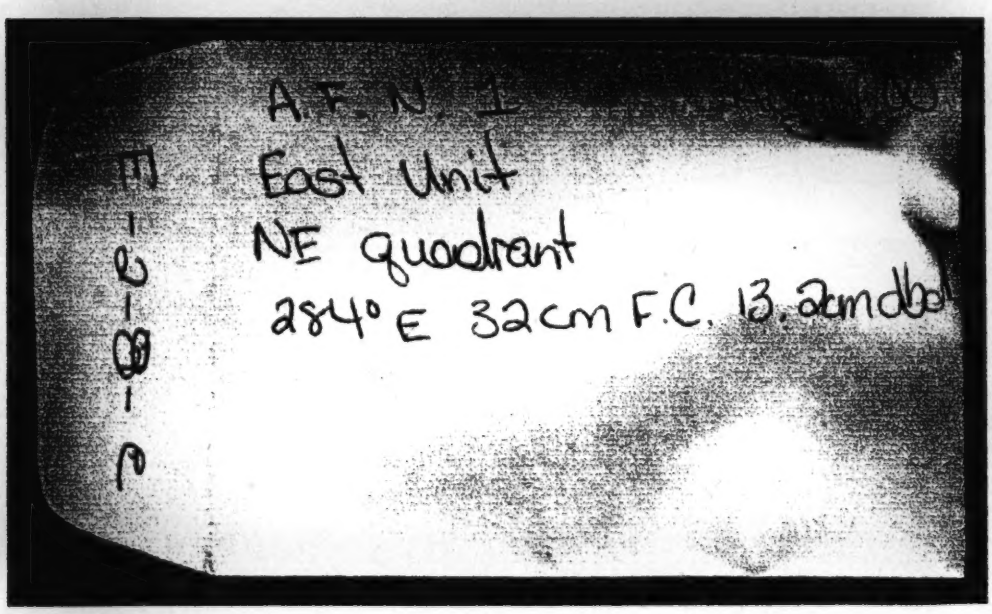


Figure 20: AFN-1 Numbered Artifact Bag

framework of obligation that results from using a circular paradigm. As discussed previously in this thesis, obligation refers to the understanding that the archaeologist is the central individual who constantly negotiates the fluctuating power relationships between all animate entities involved in the archaeological process. As she is the central point that ties multiple relational webs together, this position necessitates that she fulfills her obligations to all of the animate entities with which she has formed a reciprocal relationship.

As the primary research goal of my thesis and the supporting fieldwork was to ask and answer the question--can archaeology be practiced within an Aboriginal paradigm of circularity? --the data analysis and reporting have been primarily utilized in presenting a review of how that practice was achieved. However, as part of the overall paradigm shift to a circular framework, a secondary research goal became continuing the practices of data analysis and reporting within the same framework of circularity that has been expressed throughout all aspects of my fieldwork and thesis. Therefore, within this section of Chapter Three I will now discuss how the post-excavation aspects of the project were conducted and how a circular paradigm impacted my interpretations of the site.

Artifact handling and cataloguing

There were several ways in which I modified standard archaeological data analysis into a circular framework. The first of these involved specific aspects of artifact handling. All of the artifacts that were excavated from AFN-1 were catalogued using paper media, however cataloguing data was not written on the artifacts, nor were they retained in storage. The original artifacts, excluding all of the Calcium Carbonate that

was excavated and two samples of charcoal and fire affected bone that were taken for radiocarbon dating, were reburied in the spring of 2001.[14] The choices to not write on the artifacts or to retain them in storage were related. Both of these decisions that I made were intended to reflect a circular conception of power. The artifacts were not mine to own, they were gifts that had been given to me by the archaeological record, by the living community at Alexis First Nation, and by the past makers'/users' of the artifacts, in order for me to hold them for a time. Therefore, it would have been inappropriate for me to express ownership by retaining them or by writing on them.

As well, I paralleled my understanding of the archaeological site as an architectural creation of a sacred space with an understanding that the artifacts excavated there were sacred objects. As I was obligated to behave in certain ways within the archaeological site, so I was obligated to behave in certain ways towards the artifacts. Again, I based my behaviors on traditional ceremonial behaviors that I had witnessed and been informed of and I primarily modeled my behavior after a pipe holder or a medicine bundle holder. Therefore, I understood that I had been given these artifacts, I respected that they had power in themselves, I knew that I was only the holder of them and that I was not the owner of them, I did not handle or go near the artifacts while I was menstruating, and I recognized that I had no power to alter the artifacts.

The artifacts that were excavated at AFN-1 included: environmental indicators such as land mollusks, seeds, egg shells, rabbit pellets and a great deal of Calcium Carbonate; historical artifacts such as glass, plastic, metal, and wool; and prehistoric artifacts such as fire-broken rock, flakes of quartzite and silicified siltstone, one bifacially

[14] As I have already discussed the artifact reburial at some length within the sections on pages 87 and 105, in this current section I will only be considering the implications of this event for archaeological method.

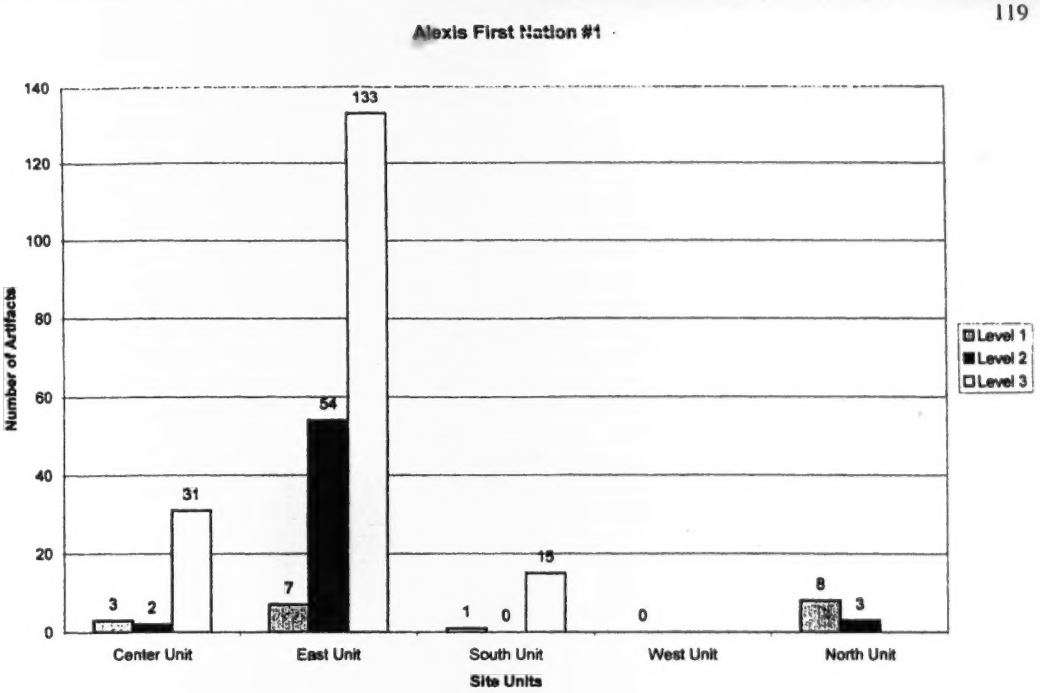


Table 1: Overview of Alexis First Nation-1 Artifacts

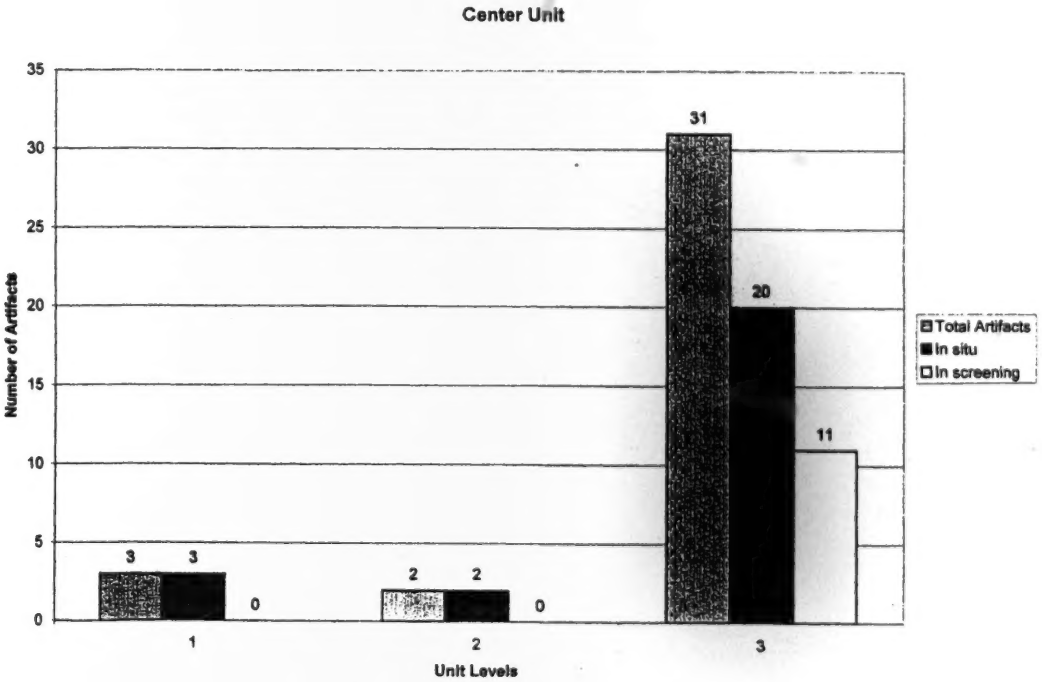


Table 2: Center Unit Artifact Overview (AFN-1)

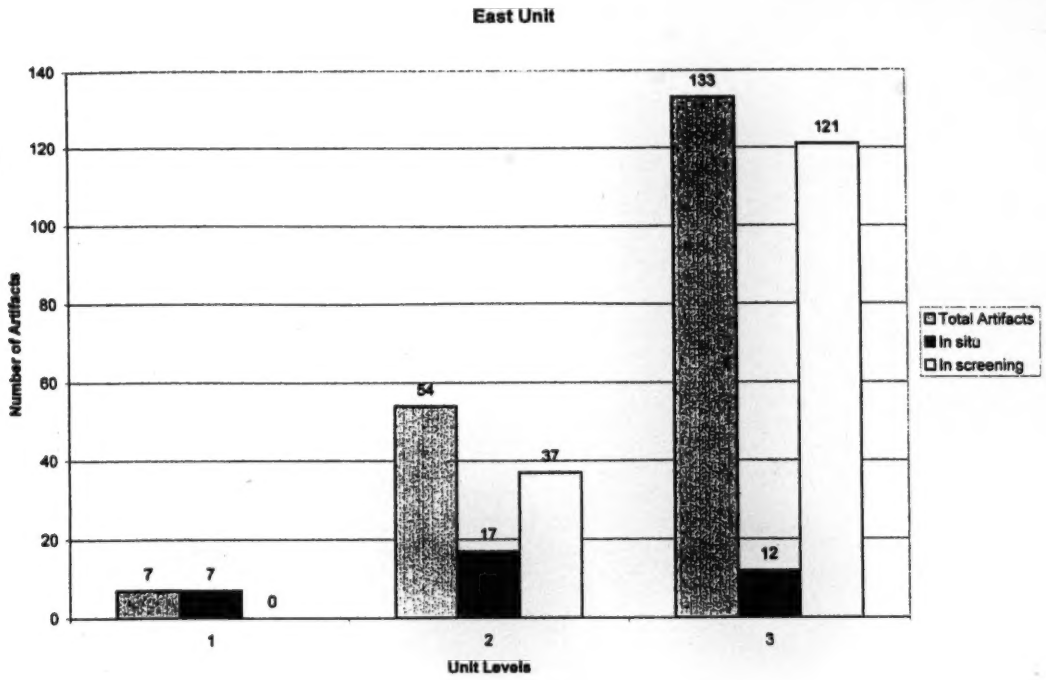


Table 3: East Unit Artifact Overview (AFN-1)

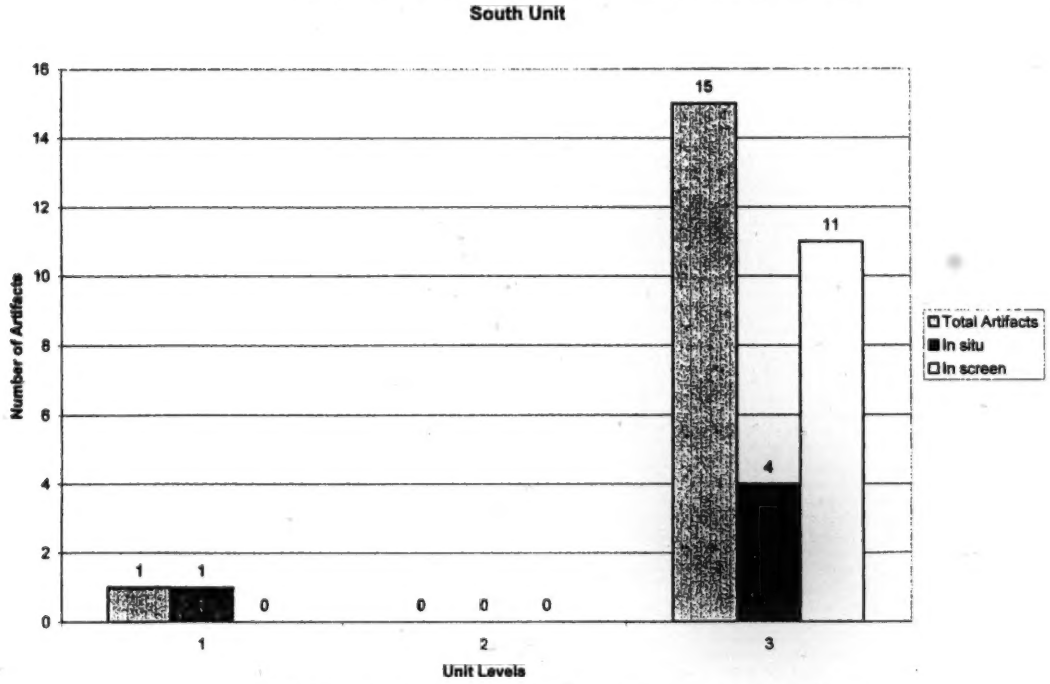


Table 4: South Unit Artifact Overview (AFN-1)

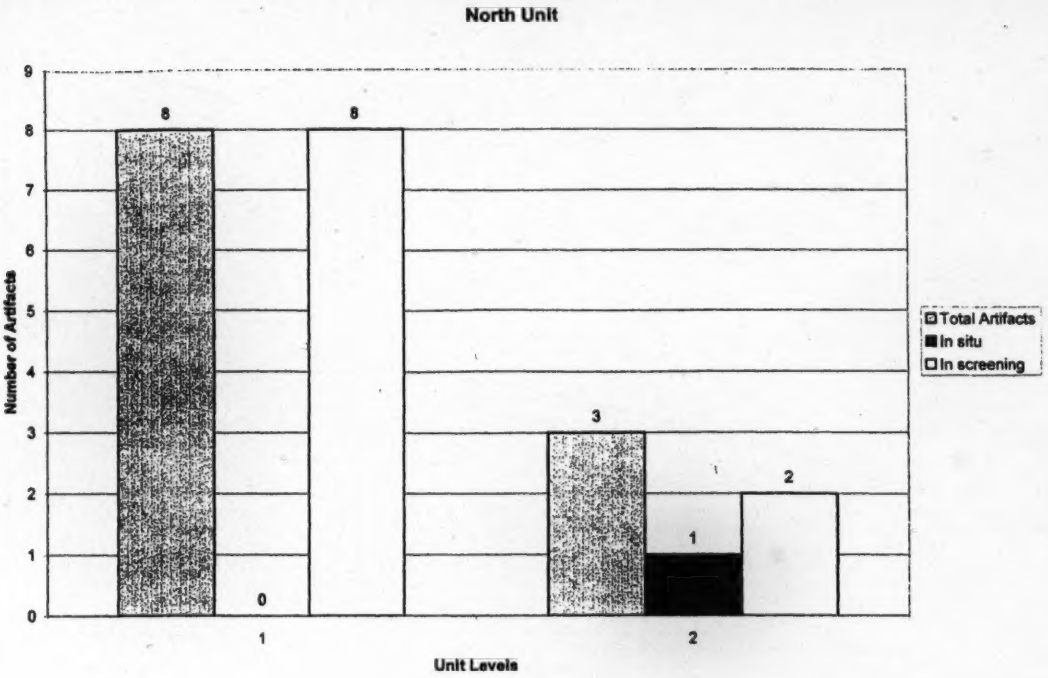


Table 5: North Unit Artifact Overview (AFN-1)

worked flake, charcoal, small mammal and fish bone fragments, and one expedient stone tool, possibly a chopper, made from fire-broken rock. (See Table 1 for an overview, and Tables 2-5 for unit particulars)

The artifacts within the East Unit were primarily ecofacts and included most of the excavated Calcium Carbonate. The West Unit was only excavated to Level 1 and no artifacts were recovered from this level, so I have not produced a separate table although I have included this unit in the general overview in Table 1. The North Unit was not excavated at the same time as the rest instead it was retained as a teaching unit and was excavated during the previously discussed fieldtrips in order to provide an area for the students to learn in.

The paper cataloguing for AFN-1 includes standard archaeological information, such as basic identification of materials and artifact types, locational measurements for unit mapping, artifact dimensions, and collection particulars. (See Appendix III for the artifact catalogue of AFN-1.) As well, the paper cataloging included some photographic and scanned images of the artifacts, however these images are not presented in Appendix III.

Research that was not done: unit profiling and site dating

The second areas in which I made modifications to data analysis that were incorporated into my research involved unit profiling and site dating. However, these areas of modification were not integrally related to each other in the same manner as the proceeding modifications to artifact handling and cataloguing were. Neither were they both a reflection of the underlying circular paradigms I utilized within my research in the same way as the proceeding modifications to data analysis clearly are.

First, the lack of analysis based on unit profiles was not completely a matter of my choice. After excavation, profiles were not recorded for any of the units. This lack of information on the strata surrounding the artifacts was unavoidable for two reasons. The overall site depth at AFN-1 was thin as is common within boreal archaeological sites, and none of the units had been completely excavated to sterile sediment, which was primarily owing to the time constraints surrounding the excavation.

In contrast, the manner of site dating was my choice. Although there were no diagnostic artifacts recovered that would allow for a standard archaeological dating of the site through association, there were two samples taken from the Center Unit that would be suitable for absolute dating. C-3-15 was a mix of charcoal and bone, while C-3-18 was

a fire affected bone fragment, both of which would be suitable for radiocarbon (C_{14}) dating. However, I have not yet submitted these samples for dating.

There are several reasons why I am hesitant to do so. First, an absolute date assignment is based on a linear conception of time and, as I experienced in the previously discussed interview with Chief Francis Alexis, to ask for an absolute date is not always appropriate. Second, the standard goal of archaeology is the creation of chronological sequences and from this starting point the archaeological record is then divided into pre-historic and historic. A division of pre-historic/historic based on written records is again an expression of linear paradigms. In order for site dates to have relevance within a circular paradigm, they must reflect circularity. However, the use of an Aboriginal tradition, which incorporates oral history, as the basis for archaeological inquiry is not compatible with a division of chronological sequence into pre-historic/historic as written records have no relevance within this paradigm. Therefore, I chose to reframe the chronological sequence that was presented to me by the archaeological record into a modified framework that would reflect the underlying paradigm of circularity. Within AFN-1 I categorized the artifacts into a generalized pre-colonization and post-colonization chronology, and concluded that the site primarily reflected a pre-colonization occupation. This categorization reflected a major conceptual division that I have heard expressed both in the community at Alexis First Nation and in the general Aboriginal community, and seemed to be well regarded whenever I presented the site to people at Alexis.

However, the third reason for not undertaking absolute dating at AFN-1 was the strongest and in the end, is why I have not yet submitted the samples for C_{14} dating. I had

only a finite amount of funding with which to conduct my research. I could have paid for radiocarbon dating, or for running fieldtrip and open site days at AFN-1, but not both. In my opinion, it was more important to put my financial resources directly into an activity that would benefit the people of Alexis First Nation rather than to focus on an activity that would benefit the archaeological community. This choice reflected both my understandings of the community's preferences and was consistent with the underlying values of circular paradigms that were incorporated throughout my work.

Interpretation of AFN-1

First, I will consider the interpretations of AFN-1 that I might have reached based on standard archaeological paradigms. I would have concluded that this was primarily a temporary pre-historic campsite at which subsistence activities such as tool making, hunting, and cooking had occurred. I would have been unable to assign a cultural affiliation to the artifacts and the site. I would also have concluded that historic and contemporary activities had occurred at the site and that this continued use had resulted in the disturbance of the archaeological record, and possibly the invalidation of information gained from the site. I would probably have recommended that no further excavation was necessary because of the disturbed nature of the site, or that at most a limited excavation would be suitable.

However, in contrast to more standard interpretations, I will now consider the interpretations of AFN-1 that I might reach based on circular paradigms. When AFN-1 is interpreted within a circular framework, I could conclude that it is a site that presents a full range of continuous occupation from pre-colonization to post-colonization as evidenced by the varied types of artifacts that were excavated. The activities that are

represented at the site could express both subsistence and ceremonial components, at one and the same time. For example, the fire-broken rock and the associated small mammal and fish bones in conjunction with the charcoal may indicate that a sweat and feast occurred at this site. Further supporting this interpretation of ceremonial activities is the close presence of Lac Ste. Anne, which is an area associated with sacred ceremonies such as communal sweat lodges and individual medicine practices in both pre-colonization and post-colonization contexts. The presence of a stone tool, probably a chopper, can corroborate the interpretation of ceremonial elements as it could have been used in preparing a sweat lodge or fire. Simultaneously, all of these individual elements also corroborate the interpretation of this site as a multi-use subsistence activity area, as Lac Ste. Anne is a productive resource area and stone tools and flakes would be consistent with resource procurement, while fire-broken rock and bones can indicate food preparation and consumption activities. The main point to be emphasized in this description of site interpretation is that when interpretation is based on circular paradigms, which perceive no distinct separation between an absolute secular and an absolute sacred, the concurrent presence of both kinds of activities within the site is a recognizable possibility.

When the site is interpreted within this circular framework, the cultural categorization of AFN-1 becomes identifiable as 'Aboriginal' in opposition to 'European'. AFN-1 is clearly a site that reflects a consistently Aboriginal culture. This is visible in both a past sense, as the archaeological artifacts that are present are consistent with ceremonial and subsistence Aboriginal activities, and in a present sense, as the relatedness of the living community to the creators of the site is openly claimed by the

community at Alexis First Nation. Within a circular framework relationships are widely defined and include extended networks of biologically and socially related kin. The definite boundaries that archaeology utilizes to create a narrowly defined 'culture type' are inconsistent with circular paradigms where temporal and spatial boundaries are perceived as permeable. In this manner, the cultural affiliation of AFN-1 is identifiable as being ancestral to the living Aboriginal population which surrounds the site, including both the groups that currently travel to Lac Ste. Anne and the groups that currently reside at Alexis First Nation.

The potential disturbance of AFN-1and my recommendations for the site are again reframed within a circular paradigm. Lac Ste. Anne is a sacred place where Aboriginal people from many different traditions have gathered in pre-colonial and post-colonial contexts for social and religious purposes. The continual and on-going use of this area has resulted in a rich and varied archaeological record. As can be seen in Figure 21, many Aboriginal archaeological sites have been found in this area. (See Appendix I for site forms) The disturbances of these sites are a further expression of the richness of the archaeological area and should be incorporated into an understanding of this sacred site as a dynamically living space. Any attempt to bind this archaeological area into an unchanging expression of a single moment in time by forbidding current use should be resisted. I recommend that the entire area surrounding Lac Ste. Anne be given a recognized designation as a sacred Aboriginal site with an extensive archaeological record. I also recommend that this area receive high priority for future excavations by Aboriginal archaeologists working in conjunction with specialists in other sub-fields of archaeology, anthropology, Native studies, geology, environmental studies, and forestry.

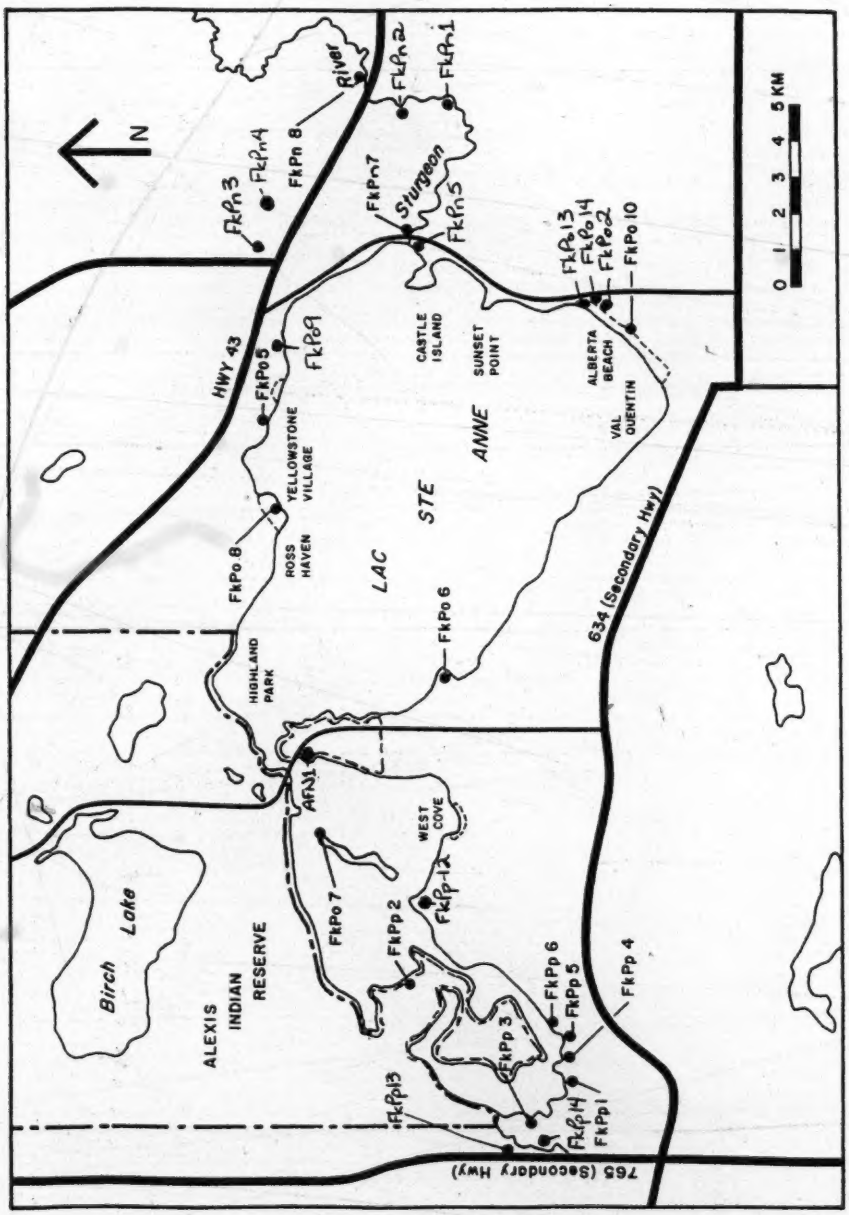


Figure 21: Location of Aboriginal archaeological sites at Lac Ste. Anne in 2001.

Adapted by Tara Million from an original map created by Pollock. (Pollock, 1979, 59)

Future directions: Calcium Carbonate as a research nexus

As was discussed previously a circular research model indicates the open ended and continuing nature of the research. Therefore, as the final aspect within my data analysis, I chose to indicate a future direction. In this way, my data analysis is again consistent with the circular framework I used and incorporates Aboriginal conceptions of time as a continuous cycle.

At AFN-1, Calcium Carbonate ($CaCO_3$) was found throughout the East Unit and, to a lesser degree, in the Center Unit and the North Unit. $CaCO_3$ is a naturally occurring soil nutrient, which appears to be present throughout the general environment surrounding AFN-1. It is not only necessary for the development of productive soil, but can also be used to make a white paint. The identification and analysis of $CaCO_3$ links several of the previously discussed areas of my fieldwork together, particularly oral history and archaeology, and youth and elder involvement. Therefore, the analysis and implications of $CaCO_3$ formed the basis for a joint paper co-authored with Courtney Cameron, which we presented at Chacmool in November 2001. This paper discussed in detail how $CaCO_3$ formed a nexus point that linked all of the elements that were identified in my initial research model: academics, Aboriginal community, archaeological record, and interpretation.

Reporting: how and why

In my relationship to reporting the results of my research, it was clear that I was obligated to multiple communities. Specifically, I had an obligation to report to all of the entities that were represented within my initial research model, including academics and

Figure 22: Circular posters used for presentations

the university, the community of Alexis First Nation, the archaeological discipline, and the more generalized Aboriginal community. The archaeological record obligated me to redistribute the information that she had given me as part of my observation of correct behavior that would in tern obligate her.

My reporting formats included my thesis and copies of this will be given to Alexis First Nation, the University of Alberta, funding groups and mentors. I have used academic papers and conference presentations to report on my research to the archaeological community. (See my Curriculum Vitae at the end of this thesis for a

complete listing of presentations.) As was previously mentioned, copies of interview tapes (both video and audio) were given to the interviewees at Alexis First Nation. In Figure 22, 4 posters are shown that visually formatted my fieldwork into circular paradigms and these posters have been shown in multiple academic and community venues. I hosted both a formal open site day for Alexis First Nation on November 3, 2000 and the previously discussed school field trips during September and October, 2000. There are also several reporting formats that are currently being produced, which include complementary reporting to the Archaeological Survey of Alberta and Heritage Site Services, a possible video production, and the development of a website for the Aboriginal Youth Network on both general archaeology and my MA fieldwork.

Failures of reporting

The only reporting format that has failed so far has been the formal open site day that I hosted at Alexis First Nation on November 3, 2000. At this event I had posters and artifacts displayed, traditional foods available, and opportunities to excavate present. I had advertised the open site day at Alexis First Nation, however no one came. I am not sure why this means of reporting failed, although I suspect it might have something to do with the day, which was somewhat cold, and that perhaps everyone who was interested in the site had already visited it.

What is the research goal of Aboriginal archaeology?

In conclusion to this Chapter of my thesis I will now briefly consider what the research goal of Aboriginal archaeology is. The standard archaeological research goal is to say something about the past people who created the archaeological record. However,

the overarching research goal of Aboriginal archaeological is to engage in a dialogue. The research goal is to tell your ancestors who created the archaeological record something about yourself, to give them your name. It is also to show your ancestors that you have extensive relationships that include them and that these relationships incorporate correct behavior, thereby implying that future relationships will contain continuity. In effect, the research goals of Aboriginal archaeology speak as much about people in the present as they do about people in the past.

Chapter 4: What is Aboriginal Archaeology?

Within this thesis, I have covered a great many subjects dealing with both Western archaeology and Aboriginal culture. In this final chapter, I will both conclude this discussion and contextualize my work with that of other archaeologists. First, I will briefly review the issues raised throughout my thesis, then discuss how other Aboriginal persons and archaeologists have developed Aboriginal archaeologies. I will reexamine how I have developed an Aboriginal archaeology through the presentation of an overarching metaphor that has been actively present throughout my work and, finally, conclude with possibilities for the future directions in the development of Aboriginal archaeology.

Summary of thesis

In the Introductory Chapter, I examined how traditional Western archaeology is perceived and practiced both by archaeologists and by outside observers. I discussed the basic concepts that underlie archaeological theory and method, and the dominant paradigm of science that Western archaeology utilizes. I considered my reactions of disengagement and dissatisfaction with Western archaeology, and re-framed archaeological practices within an Aboriginal value system as a means of resolving my conflicts with the discipline.

In the Second Chapter, I discussed the research model I decided to utilize within my Master's thesis and my fieldwork. I presented a circular model that resulted in a paradigm shift within my work from Western linear worldviews to Aboriginal circular

worldviews. I also illustrated how this model was based on a traditional Aboriginal medicine wheel, discussed what a medicine wheel was and how it existed within Aboriginal culture, and gave examples of how other Aboriginal scholars in various disciplines have utilized variations of circular research models and employed the significant concept of 'four'.

In the Third Chapter, first quadrant, I discussed the academic aspects of my research. This discussion constituted the first quarter of the circular research model I utilized. I briefly considered the academic basis for initiating my research, specifically the development of post-processualism within archaeology and the general movement within the discipline towards the development of an Aboriginal archaeology. I considered the underlying paradigms of power and time that emerge from a linear worldview and compared them to the paradigms of power and time that emerge from a circular worldview. I then discussed the archaeological ethics that have resulted from linear paradigms and the archaeological ethics that would result from circular paradigms.

In the Third Chapter, second quadrant, I developed the second quarter of my circular research model. This introduced and explained the relationships I initiated and maintained with the Aboriginal research community I worked in, Alexis First Nation in Alberta, Canada. I specifically discussed how my relationships with Chief Francis Alexis and Council, Elders on reserve, and First Nation youth on reserve were both informed by and embodied the underlying Aboriginal circular paradigms that were discussed in Chapter Two. As well, I illustrated through examples how the underlying circular conceptions of power and time that were discussed in Chapter Three emerged within the contexts of each relationship.

In the Third Chapter, third quadrant, I examined the relationship that I initiated with the archaeological record and developed the third quarter of the circular research model I utilized. This relationship was based on an explicit understanding of the archaeological record as an animate entity with whom I could negotiate and that would be capable of reciprocity. I specifically discussed how my behavior as a researcher was informed and guided by traditional Aboriginal women's ceremonial behavior, and how the underlying concepts of an animate archaeological record and following ceremonial behavior resulted in shifting my methods of initial locating and set up of the archaeological site. I illustrated how the use of circular paradigms resulted in a circular spatial orientation throughout the site form and unit forms that I established. Finally, I briefly discussed how the underlying circular paradigms I utilized resulted in my establishment as a sacred site holder, comparable to the holder of a more traditional Aboriginal ceremonial space.

In the Third Chapter, fourth quadrant, I developed the fourth quarter of my research model. I discussed the data analysis that resulted from the excavations, the interpretations of the site, and the reporting methods that I undertook. The artifact handling, cataloging, unit profiling, and site dating were examined, as well as the rationales for the procedures that were established. The interpretations and recommendations for the site were examined in some detail and an analysis of calcium carbonate was identified as a future research development. Finally, I summarized the overall research goal of Aboriginal archaeology.

Throughout Chapter Three, the circular paradigms that form the base for the methodologies I developed were clearly and explicitly drawn on and the relationships between the underlying paradigms and the resulting methods were presented in detail.

After summarizing the body of my thesis I would now like to turn to a discussion of how other individuals are answering the question, 'what is Aboriginal archaeology?' This discussion will place my development of an Aboriginal archaeology within the wider context of how other individuals are developing Aboriginal archaeology.

How do others answer the question: what is Aboriginal archaeology?

This section presents some difficulties. It is unclear what is commonly meant by 'Aboriginal archaeology'. And second, there is no substantial body of literature available that deals with either developing an understanding of what Aboriginal archaeology is or that presents examples of current attempts to undertake Aboriginal archaeology. Therefore, in this section I will initially discuss definitions of 'Aboriginal archaeology' that others have presented and then develop my definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology'. I will then turn my attention to presenting some current research examples of Aboriginal archaeology that I have encountered. This presentation will incorporate published and unpublished literature, conference presentations, and personal discussions, all of which will be considered equally valid sources. The equalization of written and verbal sources within this section will continue the style that I have utilized throughout the preceding sections of my thesis, in which academic literature and community oral traditions are considered equally authoritative elements upon which to draw.

It has been my experience that the term 'Aboriginal archaeology' has no true definition, yet that it is generally recognized and accepted by the archaeological discipline, Aboriginal academics, and Aboriginal communities. Rather, 'Aboriginal archaeology' is more often a concept that is defined by identifying what is not Aboriginal archaeology. This said, I have also found that there are generally two major approaches used in attempts to reach a definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology'.

The first approach is that 'Aboriginal archaeology' involves all archaeology done on Aboriginal sites that is undertaken in conjunction with an Aboriginal community partner and that may incorporate Aboriginal values and beliefs into the archaeological methods. (See pages 139-143 for examples) This definition allows for the placement of non-Aboriginal archaeologists into the development of this version of archaeology, and hinges on the belief that the involved parties are working co-operatively and openly while maintaining an equal power relationship within the context of the project. The second approach incorporates all types of archaeology that are actively practiced by an Aboriginal person. (See pages 144-146 for examples) This definition allows for the recognition that Aboriginal archaeologists may utilize various types of archaeology within their Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal centered research, and hinges on the belief that all their work is both impacted and informed by their Aboriginal identity.

There are benefits and costs inherent in both approaches to 'Aboriginal archaeology'. Although the first approach allows for the incorporation of non-Aboriginal peoples, it also excludes certain archaeological work through the emphasis on community partnerships identified as 'Aboriginal'. Furthermore, this definition not only requires the aim of the archaeological work to be Aboriginally centered, but also requires the

involvement of Aboriginal people in order for it to be recognized as valid 'Aboriginal archaeology'. These judgments, even when implicitly present, can lead to the imposition of an outside academic standard on the definition of a community as 'Aboriginal' or 'not Aboriginal enough'. This approach can result in the validity of self-identifications that are presented by an Aboriginal community being diminished or considered secondary by the general archaeological community.

In a similar manner, the second approach utilized in defining 'Aboriginal archaeology' allows for both inclusion and exclusion. This approach first allows for the inclusion of multiple types of archaeology into the development of Aboriginal archaeology, but then excludes all non-Aboriginal individuals from the practice of Aboriginal archaeology. By recognizing Aboriginal persons as the only valid practitioners of Aboriginal archaeology, this definition explicitly requires that an individual archaeologist publicly self-identify as 'Aboriginal' and that she then have that identity legitimized by both the academic and Aboriginal communities. As in the previous definition the problem remains the same, outside standards are being privileged over internal self-identifications and the archaeological community is placed into the powerful position of being the institution that legitimizes definitions of 'Aboriginal archaeology'.

The preceding two approaches that are generally utilized when developing a definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology' are limited. Both approaches are inclusive in some aspects but they have a fundamentally exclusive base, one in terms of archaeological partnerships and one in terms of archaeological practitioners. Although this is a significant difficulty, the larger problem both approaches present is in the implicit

establishment of the archaeological community as the primary legitimizing body for validating any definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology'. It is my opinion that developing a definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology' through validation by either external archaeologists or Aboriginal peoples is a fundamentally flawed process. External validation has a place within theory and method development but that place is as a secondary means of receiving critical feedback on a developed concept.

The primary means of creating a definition of 'Aboriginal archaeology' should be through including all of the internal self-definitions of Aboriginal archaeology that are being developed by practicing Aboriginal archaeologists. I need to further define my terms in order to convey the inclusive and phenomenological nature of what I am proposing. 'Aboriginal archaeology' refers to any archaeology that is self-identified as such without regard to specific community partnerships or archaeological methods. 'Practicing' refers to formally and informally trained individuals who presently engage in a wide variety of archaeologically related activities, while 'Aboriginal archaeologist' refers to any individual, formally or informally trained, who self-identifies as an Aboriginal archaeologist based on their cultural heritage, their research interests, or other factors. As Aboriginal archaeologies are developed, self-identified, and, most importantly, experienced by the archaeological community a retrospective definition of Aboriginal archaeology will emerge.

When internal self-identification is recognized as the only valid means of developing and defining 'Aboriginal archaeology', it then becomes an independent process that does not require legitimization by externally imposed standards, either my standards or other's standards. However, the archaeological community maintains an

extremely important role in the development of Aboriginal archaeology through its ability to critique and legitimize the quality of the archaeological theory and method that will be developed. Put in colloquial language, while I as an archaeologist am willing to accept other's claims about what is 'Aboriginal archaeology', I reserve the right to decide for myself if they are things I consider 'good' or 'bad' Aboriginal archaeology.

I now turn my attention to presenting some examples of work that I have encountered and consider exemplary Aboriginal archaeology. Explicitly or implicitly, each of these examples has been self-identified as part of 'Aboriginal archaeology' by the practitioners involved based on their own criteria. I caution readers this is by no means an exhaustive review of all work internally or externally identified as 'Aboriginal archaeology' and is also based solely on my personal opinion of what constitutes 'exemplary'. As well, I will be presenting these examples primarily through the impressions I have formed of each project, drawing on both published literature and personal communications as my sources. By simultaneously drawing on written and oral sources I will circumvent the lack of a substantial body of published literature that deals with Aboriginal archaeology.

An exciting example of archaeological and Aboriginal collaboration is presented in "On *Yamozhah*'s Trail: Dogrib Sacred Sites and the Anthropology of Travel". This project was published in Sacred Lands, by Thomas Andrews, an archaeologist with the Prince of Wales Heritage Center in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, John Zoe, Chief of Rae/Edzo, and Aaron Herter, a community researcher with the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council in Rae/Edzo, Northwest Territories. They reported on the research they undertook regarding archaeological sites along the Idaa Trail. The Idaa Trail work is "a

multi-year research project designed to complete an ethnoarchaeological study of heritage sites located on two Dogrib traditional birchbark canoe and dog sled routes." (Andrews, Zoe & Herter, 1998, 302) The archaeologists, in conjunction with Dogrib Elders, inventoried the archaeological sites along the Idaa Trail "in order to provide these sites with a measure of protection, and to ensure that they receive appropriate attention by cultural resource managers". (Andrews, Zoë & Herter, 1998, 307)

The project resulted in several method changes that seem to be commonplace within Aboriginal archaeology. First, the definition of 'archaeological site' was expanded to include culturally significant areas that had no material artifacts associated with them. Second, the oral traditions of Elders were considered to be equally valid and important to the project as archaeological methods, while the teaching of Aboriginal youth and the shared presence of archaeologists and Aboriginal individuals on archaeological sites together was considered to be of the highest priority. (Andrews, Zoe & Herter, 1998) As well, the dissemination of the project was undertaken in a manner that exhibited the results of collaboration. The session, "Strong Like Two People: Giving the Past a Future in Dogrib Education", at the Chacmool Conference on Saturday, November 13, 1999 presented both the methods and the results of the project in the voices of academics and Aboriginals. And finally, the academic literature that came out of the project was complemented by the production of video documentation and related Internet websites. (Andrews, personal communications, 2001)

Another exciting collaboration between Aboriginals and academics is presented in "Education and Empowerment: Archaeology With, For, and By the Shuswap Nation, British Columbia", by George Nicholas. This article discusses the Secwepemc Institute

and "concerns the evolving role that education and research have as potentially important components of cultural resource management on First Nations lands, and focuses on the First Nations-oriented educational program...in Kamloops, British Columbia." (Nicholas, 1997, 85) The Secwepemc Institute is "a collaborative educational program...initiated between the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and Simon Fraser University (SCES-SFU) to establish a Native-administered, Native-run, post-secondary educational institute on the Kamloops Indian Reserve". (Nicholas, 1997, 88) Archaeology forms an important component of the Secwepemc Institute, and undergraduate degrees majoring and minoring in archaeology are offered. Not only are archaeology courses offered at the introductory and advanced level, but the Institute runs a yearly field school on the Kamloops Indian Reserve that provides practical training in the methods of archaeology while developing the research skills of students. (Nicholas, 1997, 89-90)

This ongoing educational archaeology collaboration displays several of the method changes that are commonplace within Aboriginal archaeology. Again, Aboriginal cultural traditions and Western archaeological methods are both considered equally valid within the context of project development, while the formal teaching of Aboriginal youth is prioritized. Finally, the shared experience of archaeologists and Aboriginal individuals being on archaeological sites together is regarded as an invaluable opportunity for mutual learning, while the informal role modeling of Aboriginal archaeology students within their own communities is recognized as a valuable outcome of collaboration. (Nicholas, personal communications, 1999; Nicholas, personal communications, 2000) The role that Nicholas plays as a self-identified non-Aboriginal archaeologist within Aboriginal archaeology also exhibits similarities with other examples of Aboriginal archaeology

development. Nicholas clearly sees himself fulfilling a mentorship role. As a trained academic in a position of educational authority, Nicholas encourages Aboriginal students as they actively develop their own archaeologies. It has been my experience that he facilitates education, fieldwork, the inclusion of cultural aspects within archaeological work, research presentations, and networking.

The third example of archaeological and Aboriginal collaboration I would like to discuss was presented in the session, "Out of the Northern Ice: *Kwaday Dan Sinchi* and Ice Patch Studies", that was included in the 2001 Canadian Archaeological Associations' 34th annual meeting and conference held in Banff, Alberta. Sarah Gaunt, as the Heritage Planner for the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, Yukon, and Sheila Greer, as the archaeological consultant to Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, spearheaded this session that presented the methods and goals of the collaborative archaeological work that they undertook along with other academics and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. The collaboration presented in this session was centered on the research that was undertaken in regards to the human remains, *Kwaday Dan Sinchi*, which emerged from a snow patch located within the traditional lands of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. There were seven papers presented that dealt with various aspects of the overall project, ranging from cultural dimensions to science aspects, artifact analysis to theoretical orientation, and geoarchaeology to educational archaeology.

Like the previously discussed examples, this collaboration displays several of the method changes that are commonplace within Aboriginal archaeology, specifically the inclusion of Elders, traditional cultural elements, and the shared experience of academics and Aboriginals being present together on an archaeological site. (Gaunt, personal

communication, 2001) However, the *Kwaday Dan Sinchi* project presents the extensive development of certain aspects of Aboriginal archaeology more explicitly than many other projects. The inclusion and teaching of Aboriginal youth was developed into a major focus of the project, involving Science Camps that co-mingled Western based science with traditional Aboriginal culture. These large scale Science Camps were organized and run through collaborative efforts between academics, government, and First Nations and deliberately placed scientists and Elders into complementary positions of authority. (Strand, personal communication, 2001) In a similar fashion, the process of determining overall research goals and the dissemination of research results was extensively developed and formed an explicit part of the presentation of the research collaboration. The Champagne and Aishihik First Nations exerted primary control over who would be allowed to undertake research, what types of research they could undertake, the time frame for engaging in research, and how research results were to be publicly disseminated. As well, they determined that *Kwaday Dan Sinchi* would ultimately be reburied in a traditional manner. (Gaunt, personal communication, 2001; Greer, personal communication, 2001)

The last discussion of Aboriginal archaeology that I will present in this section concerns self-identified Aboriginal archaeologists who are actively working in many different areas of the world, and therefore differs from the three previous examples of Aboriginal and academic collaboration. Despite the great differences in the archaeological methods of these self-identified Aboriginal archaeologists, they all explicitly frame their work within a common Aboriginal archaeology.

Each of these Aboriginal archaeologists presented at the 99th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, held in San Francisco, California, from November 15th to 19th, 2000. Together they formed the "AAA Invited session: Indigenous Archaeologies", which was sponsored by the American Anthropological Association's Executive Program Committee and was held on Saturday, November 18. Martin Wobst and Lester-Irabinna Rigney were the session organizers with assistance from Claire Smith.

Martin Wobst and Claire Smith were the only non-Aboriginal participants in the session. They self-identified in a manner similar to George Nicholas, as non-Aboriginal archaeologists within Aboriginal archaeology, and clearly viewed themselves as functioning primarily in a mentorship role. They both actively facilitated the development of Aboriginal archaeology by the Aboriginal archaeologists who participated in this session. I believe that they consider archaeological education, fieldwork opportunities, the inclusion of cultural aspects within formal archaeological work, developing research presentations, and aggressive networking to be aspects of the development of Aboriginal archaeology in which they can effectively assist. (Wobst, personal communications, 2000; Smith, personal communications, 2000) Lester-Irabinna Rigney and Daryle Rigney participated in the session as Australian Aboriginal academics whose primary foci were in the related fields of Aboriginal education and research methodology development. Their contributions to the session were primarily aimed at addressing the common academic and research experiences that Aboriginal individuals shared as they engaged in post-secondary education and community-based research. (Rigney L., personal communications, 2000; Rigney D., personal communications, 2000)

Ken Isaacson and Connell Perry participated as Australian Aboriginal community researchers, who work in conjunction with and liaison between Aboriginal communities and academics, both Aboriginal and non-aboriginal. They began the section of the session that focused on presenting a non-academic view of Aboriginal archaeology. (Isaacson & Perry, personal communications, 2000) Sybil Ranch, Delma McCartney, Darien Hood, Peter Manaburu, and Jimmy Wessan participated as Aboriginal community members with direct control over archaeological activity on Indigenous lands, in a parallel fashion to the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations who participated in the *Kwaday Dan Sinchi* project. Sybil Ranch, Delma McCartney, and Darien Hood all discussed their entwined roles as representatives of the senior traditional landowner and members of the community government councils of the Barunga community in Australia. (Ranch, McCartney & Hood, personal communications, 2000) In a similar fashion Peter Manaburu and Jimmy Wessan discussed their role within archaeological research as senior community elders and custodians of Indigenous lands in Barunga and Wugularr, Australia. (Manaburu & Wessan, personal communications, 2000)

The final section of the session focused on Aboriginal academic archaeologists presenting their individual developments of Aboriginal archaeology. Jenny Pilot, Juliana Nairouz, Margaret Bruchac, Rebecca Hammond, Ruth Mathis, Terry Weik, and myself all made varied contributions to the session. The presentations ranged from ethnoarchaeology to excavations, oral history to physical anthropology, public education to museum collection, and applied archaeology to theory development. Although their work was all academically grounded, as each individual was either training as an academic or working within a formal archaeological forum, each development exhibited

fundamental commonalties with the community-based presentations. First, each individual self-identified as an Aboriginal person and was accepted as such by the community-based members of the session. Second, whether the archaeology was centered in Torres Strait or Palestine, the United States of America or Canada, each archaeologist focused on the relationships between Aboriginal peoples and archaeology, while simultaneously attempting to connect academic research with the lived experience of Aboriginal communities. Finally, each presentation, whether community-based or academically based, both critiqued the status quo of archaeological research and considered positive alterations that could be initiated. (Pilot, Nairouz, Bruchac, Hammond, Mathis, & Weik, personal communications, 2000)

The final point in this section is in respect to gender. The majority of Aboriginal academics participating in the previously discussed session are women. In my experience, although I have not quantified or formally pursued it, I believe there are more Aboriginal women academics than there are Aboriginal men academics. George Nicholas has also casually observed that there seem to be more Aboriginal women in archaeological graduate studies than there are Aboriginal men. (Nicholas, personal communications, 2000) The female majority in the 'Indigenous Archaeologies' session seems to support these observations. It is my opinion that the stronger presence of Aboriginal women within academics and the archaeological discipline flows out of the understandings of women within traditional Aboriginal culture. As Green points out in her 1992 work, Indians of North America: Women in American Indian Society,

> "The roles that women play in these stories (that are handed down through generations) indicate to some extent how a society views its women. For example, many Indian tribes believe that their origin as a culture stems from the female...Moreover, women in Indian creation stories and female

> spirits central to everyday life are viewed in a positive light...The female figures in Indian creation stories are many and varied...For the Sioux, White Buffalo Calf Woman gave the people the gift of the Pipe, and thus a gift of Truth." (Green, 1992, 21)

While specific female figures are not common between North American and Australian Aboriginals, nonetheless the underlying concept of women as powerful figures who bring truth and cultural gifts is understandable, relevant and resonant. (Rigney L., personal communications, 2000; Rigney D., personal communications, 2000; Isaacson & Perry, personal communications, 2000; Ranch, McCartney & Hood, personal communications, 2000; Manaburu & Wessan, personal communications, 2000) With this in mind I will now turn my attention to the following section of this chapter, in which I examine how I have responded to the challenge of defining what Aboriginal archaeology is.

How do I answer the question: what is Aboriginal archaeology?

> "Among all the Indian tribes, but particularly those of the Great Plains, the concept of the medicine-bundle was central to the practice of religion...The sacred object (the medicine-bundle) was the focus of an entire myth, almost a materialization of an archetype...illustrated in the following myth from the Arikara people. The Knot in the Tree...There was once a village of the Buffalo, who in those days resembled strong human beings wearing horns...the Buffalo priests (caused)...a great many people (to) come up out of the tree...The Buffalo people hunted them like animals...One human escaped...He was chased by a white Buffalo-woman but he outdistanced her...One day he saw a beautiful horned woman dressed in white leather...Buffalo-Girl told how the Buffalo People wanted to be turned into true animals...she had selected him to be the hero...the other people came up and each took a bow. As they did so they shot at the Buffalo-men...as each one was hit he turned into a real buffalo...Buffalo-Girl married the young man, and their children founded the Arikara nation. Now, whenever the 'Knot in the Tree' medicine-bundle is opened, the ceremonies and dances are those which Buffalo-Girl taught the first Arikara." (Burland, Nicholson & Osborne, 1970, 70-75)

The figure of White Buffalo Calf Woman embodies fundamental principles and concepts that are common to both cultural groups, Cree and Stoney. The underlying similarities between both groups are specifically expressed through Sun Dance lodges, sweat lodges, pipe holding, the separation of men's and women's ceremonial areas, and the acceptance of women's authority. These fundamental commonalties contribute to both groups recognizing women as powerful figures, even if common female figures are not explicitly present in both traditions. This common understanding of women parallels the previously discussed similar understandings between North American and Australian Aboriginals. Furthermore, White Buffalo Calf Woman embodies an oral tradition that was not only present in pre-contact times but continues to be active in post-contact times, as Allen points out in her groundbreaking 1992 work, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions:

> "The idea that Woman is possessed of great medicine power is elaborated in the Lakota myth of White Buffalo Woman. She brought the Sacred Pipe to the Lakota, and it is through the agency of this pipe that the ceremonies and rituals of the Lakota are empowered...Without the pipe, no ritual magic can occur. According to one story about White Buffalo Woman, she lives in a cave where she presides over the Four Winds...In Lakota ceremonies, the four wind directions are always acknowledged, usually by offering a pipe to them. The pipe is ceremonial, modeled after the Sacred Pipe given to the people by the Sacred Woman. The Four Winds are very powerful beings themselves, but they can function only at the bidding of White Buffalo Woman. The Lakota are connected to her still, partly because some still keep to the ways she taught them and partly because her pipe still resides with them." (Allen, 1992, 16-17)

The presence of White Buffalo Calf Woman within pre-colonial Aboriginal culture has not only been demonstrated by Aboriginal peoples but has also been noted by multiple academic scholars, as the following quote illustrates:

> "A visionary dimension is evident in many communal rites. The Hako of the Caddoan Pawnee differs from fixed calendrical ceremonies in its

> collective quest for Mother Corn; other tribes, such as the Omaha (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1:74) and Teton Sioux (Densmore 1918, 68-77; J.E. Brown, 101-3), may have derived a similar rite from the Caddoan Arikara. Among the Teton Sioux, this ritual, with its "song of search" for children, was associated not with Mother Corn but with the White Buffalo Woman who gave the sacred pipe (Dorsey 1906; Walker 1980, 109-12, 128-50; Brown, 3-9)." (Torrance, 1994, 245)

Through presentation of the metaphor of White Buffalo Calf Woman in this section, I will reframe the discussion of Aboriginal archaeology from exploring specific paradigms and methods into a consideration of general concepts, which parallels the general exploration of archaeology in Chapter 1. As well, White Buffalo Calf Woman continues to bridge the gap between these two separate Aboriginal cultures, expressed through a Cree researcher and a Stoney community, which was begun in Chapter Two when I examined architecture based on circular paradigms. The bridging between Aboriginal cultures, which is present in physical form, is also present in this oral form, and this encourages me to consider a 'pan-Aboriginal' connection. Indeed, although I have no way of presenting acceptable academic 'proof', I am entirely confident when I state that the circular paradigm shift I have developed within my archaeological practice would be understandable and comfortable to Aboriginal peoples around the world, regardless of their specific cultural group.

Within the context of circular paradigms, to engage in archaeology is to create a powerful physical nexus point that replicates more traditional architecture. Through the physicality of an archaeological site the immanence of all times, and the relationship webs contained within those times, can be explicitly realized and recognized. With this understanding established it is clear that an archaeological site functions in the same way

that a North American sweat lodge does, and provides a similar arena for the ancestors to be present with the living and the unborn.

A similar shift occurs in the person of the archaeologist. Her role is re-envisioned in a complementary manner to the physical presence of the site. The archaeological site has become a ceremonial area: the archaeologist has become the ceremonial practitioner. Furthermore, an archaeologist is not only the holder of just any sacred site but she is specifically the holder of a sacred site that is given to her by an aware archaeological record.

Artifacts and ecofacts are the sacred objects that are given into the holding of an archaeologist by White Buffalo Calf Woman. These archaeological gifts are given to an Aboriginal archaeologist in the same way as other sacred objects and teachings were given to our ancestors and carry the same spiritual and cultural meanings. As Don Rutledge, a pipe holder, explains:

> "Sacred pipes were given to the tribes in different ways by the Great Spirit. These tribes have their own traditions. For example, the Lakota, who comprise the seven tribes of the Western Sioux, originally were given the pipe by the White Buffalo Calf Woman. In their legend, one of the two men who met the White Buffalo Calf Woman was killed because of his lusting after her. The other man returned to the tribe and told them to prepare for a visit from the White Buffalo Calf Woman. She then came to them and gave instructions for the pipe's use. It's said that the original pipe is still preserved by the Lakota. The Dakota (the eastern Sioux) tribes' tradition, says that a maiden dressed in white buckskin approached the two men. The one who lusted after her was killed and the other brought the pipe she was carrying to his tribe. He was made the pipe holder." (Rutledge, 1992, 64-65)

The practice of archaeology is the creation of the world and the archaeologist is the *axis mundi*. An Aboriginal archaeologist not only bridges contrasting worldviews; she embodies the interrelationships between multiple worldviews and facilitates syncretistic

functioning. An Aboriginal archaeologist is the focus of a relational web that incorporates past, present and future, living and non-living, academic and community, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. As the *axis mundi*, or linking focus between disparate elements, she receives powerful gifts from the animate archaeological record that carry the obligation of redistribution throughout all of these relationship networks.

The ability of White Buffalo Calf Woman to provide this overarching metaphor for Aboriginal archaeology is undeniable. As the following examples show, other contemporary aboriginal peoples have previously incorporated White Buffalo Calf Woman, and all of the attendant implications, into modern settings. John Stonechild is the Elder in Residence for the School of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. He is the Elder who supervises the Prairie region traditional activities and he works with aboriginal prison inmates. He does vision questing and Sun Dancing with these inmates for their personal healing. While the inmates are vision questing, through fasting and praying for the four requisite days, White Buffalo Calf Woman will come to them and give them personal visions. John Stonechild says that the power of White Buffalo Calf Woman to give visions is grounded in her role as the one who brought the peace pipe to Aboriginal people. Stonechild also teaches that the keepers of the pipe, the Cheyenne, hold the original pipe she brought. (Stonechild, personal communication, 1999) As well, "a number of native women's organizations sprang up in the 1970s and 1980s to address the extraordinary assaults on native culture. Throughout the United States and Canada, as well as Greenland, native women have organized themselves into groups. Among these are the White Buffalo Calf Society". (Green, 1992, 89) It is apparent that White Buffalo

Calf Woman remains a powerful figure within contemporary Aboriginal culture, one who is understood throughout Indian Country.

In conclusion to this section I want to restate that women in traditional Aboriginal culture are highly regarded. White Buffalo Calf Woman is a woman who leads spiritually and culturally. She has provided, and continues to provide, a role model for traditional and contemporary Aboriginal women; Aboriginal women who both listen and speak. It has been my experience with Aboriginal women, as Elders and leaders, that when women speak they clarify what will happen and their voices are respected and followed. These observations lead me to state that Aboriginal women archaeologists are not only in a formidable position to spearhead a paradigm shift within archaeology, but that they are actively doing so.

Conclusions and challenges

Archaeology is not only a science; it is an art form. Aboriginal archaeology is an undertaking that incorporates creativity, truth, and beauty. Although the following statement is concerned with Native women artists who transcend boundaries and provide spiritual connections, it could just as easily be about Aboriginal women archaeologists who are striving towards transcendence and creativity in their own discipline.

> "As reflected in their artwork, Indian women are bound to one another by many common threads, even though they come from diverse groups, live in varied rural and urban areas, and enjoy many different levels of education-ranging from elementary to graduate school. Much of their art expresses a concern with the history, culture, and spirituality of their people. They draw upon ceremonies and legends for symbolic references to traditional life and to their own inner world...their heritage informs their work. Indian women also strive to transcend tradition and combat the romanticization of the past. They comment on modern Indian life, create new forms and images, borrow techniques from other cultures, and work

> in media that traditionally belong to Indian men or to non-Indians. Yet even while they cross boundaries...these artists maintain a spiritual contact with the past. For modern Indian women, the act of creating art is ritualistic, much like...traditional tasks...The process of making art is as important as the final product." (Green, 1992, 57)

Archaeology is not only an art form; it is a leadership forum. Aboriginal women occupy a primary role as leaders within the Aboriginal community, but they are also placed in a primary role as leaders in the archaeological community. Although the following statement explicitly addresses political leadership it is equally applicable to academic leadership, and raises not only the possibilities of realizing that leadership role but the cultural implications of doing so:

> "For many native people, Wilma Mankiller's leadership (as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation) embodies many of the prophecies of Indian peoples from times past, which foretell a time when women will lead Indian people into a new era. Some, like the Sioux, say that the White Buffalo Calf Woman will return again to restore the buffalo." (Green, 1992, 99)

Perhaps this is the time noted, when White Buffalo Calf Woman will restore what was lost and Aboriginal women will lead the way into a revitalized cultural era.

The final question I want to consider in my thesis is one that I have been frequently asked. It is not my question, but belongs rather to other archaeologists. Explicitly and implicitly I am often asked, "What is the role of non-aboriginal archaeologists within Aboriginal archaeology? And is there even a place for them?"

My response to this question has been inadequate up to this point. This was not a question or point of view that I had considered in any depth as it had no relevance for me or any experiential resonance. However, I realized that this lack of identification and examination of a central question was because in essence, I was on the inside. I had failed to consider that an 'inside' implies an 'outside'. Or to be absolutely truthful, I was

enjoying the experience of being 'inside' and part of that experience was a feeling that it served the white majority right to be 'outside' and even compensated in some way for their accumulated history of being exclusionary. I was the one in a position to validate and I was enjoying it. To experience this negative attitude is not uncommon, I think, and is a part of being human, subject to all the epiphanies and blindness' of that condition. However, to remain enmeshed in these attitudes are both to deny my obligations and relations, and to act in a manner that will remove the sacred aspects that have been given to my work.

Therefore, I would like to close the circle of my thesis with my answer to the question, "What is the place of non-aboriginal archaeologists within Aboriginal archaeology?"

I am an Aboriginal archaeologist and I am powerful. I hold the hands of my sisters and brothers and together we are creating a new, dynamic archaeology. We are dancing the circle and our ancestors are singing with us. Our voices are raised to you. We are pleading, calling, daring, challenging, and commanding. *Penimihito*! Come and dance!

Epilogue

I am writing this epilogue following the successful defense of my thesis. In this epilogue, I will discuss the minor revisions that were requested by the examiners as a means of discussing the dynamics of my defense and my thesis, which were both based on building a bridge between two competing value systems. The defense involved a chair, four examiners, and myself. The chair was a member of our department who specializes in archaeology. The four examiners included my supervisor and an adjunct professor, both archaeologists, an external examiner from the Department of Religious Studies, and an Aboriginal Cultural Elder.

As I was reviewing the examiners requested revisions with my supervisor, Dr. Hickey, I became more and more uneasy about integrating any or all of them into my thesis. I was unclear about how and where I would change the thesis to reflect the wishes of the examiners, who all had strong views about emphasizing particular elements but were not specific about where they should be incorporated. Dr. Waugh, the external examiner, wanted me to demonstrate my awareness that 'revisionist science', for example, the development of Islamic science which counteracts Western science as the dominant way of knowing, is occurring globally and is not simply confined to archaeology and Aboriginal scholars. Dr. Ives, an adjunct professor of archaeology, wanted me to explicitly write a 'prescription' for archaeology and use this thesis as a 'wake up call' for mainstream archaeology. He wanted me to forefront the way in which I am educating Western archaeology about other ways of knowing the past, and to specifically highlight how my use of an Aboriginal value system has created an

alternative archaeology with different questions and results. Dr. Hodgson, the Aboriginal Cultural Elder, wanted me to maintain and further develop the storytelling aspects of my thesis. She was emphatic that the narrative voice I have used is essential to the finished work and that the metaphorical qualities of my writing should not be removed. Dr. Hickey, my supervisor and an archaeologist, wanted me to develop my thoughts on the follow-up work that should occur in the region I dealt with and to clarify that I am extending my hand to all other sub-fields of archaeology and science to work with me in this endeavor. He was insistent that the Aboriginal archaeology I have developed needed to be presented as a separate but equal line of inquiry that should be undertaken in conjunction with other research. The simile that he used to illustrate the relationship between Aboriginal archaeology and Western archaeology was the 'two-row wampum', which is a historical reference to the negotiating relationship between the Crown and North American Aboriginal peoples as 'between nations that are separate but equal'.

It is clear to me from the results of the defense that I am being pulled in several contradictory directions. The cultural values that each examiner brought to the table have informed the revisions that they are requesting. This is a continuation of the dynamic which my thesis examines, that an archaeologist's cultural and philosophical values inform their scientific questions and practices. However, the purpose of my thesis is to incorporate several value systems in order to create a new kind of archaeology and to speak to multiple audiences, each with their own set of cultural references. Therefore, I cannot fully meet either Dr. Ives's request for a more 'prescriptive' thesis or Dr. Hodgson's request for a more 'metaphorical' thesis. If I significantly changed the body of

my work to reflect either of their wishes, it would upset a balance that I have maintained throughout the text.

This thesis has been, and continues to be, about the compromises and negotiations that I have made between two specific cultures, Western-based, academic archaeology and traditional, community-based First Nations. One of the compromises that I have made in order to complete this thesis is the creation of a new language in which to speak about my archaeological work. Essentially my thesis is written in a pidgin or *lingua franca* that incorporates both of my cultures, archaeological and Aboriginal, yet is neither completely one nor the other. If I changed the text to become more 'prescriptive' it would become incomprehensible to my Aboriginal audience. Likewise, if I changed the text to become more 'metaphorical' it would become incomprehensible to my archaeological audience.

Because of these dynamics I believe it is necessary to maintain a certain tone of voice in this thesis, therefore I cannot fully meet any of the examiners' requests. Negotiation and compromise is based on understanding, compassion, and tact. The phrasing and language that a negotiator uses is essential to her success. The relationship between archaeologists and Aboriginal people is a difficult one and many misunderstandings have occurred. In creating an Aboriginal archaeology, I have dealt with many subjects that are culturally loaded for both groups. The reasons I have been successful at this are twofold: I have maintained a non-confrontational tone and I am a member of both cultures. As a member of both cultures my speech intrinsically contains a certain amount of power. However much it has frustrated my supervisor, I have always hesitated to increase the amount of power in this thesis by using the Western convention

of speaking strongly, directly, and generally. The result has been that Dr. Hickey has spent a fair amount of time crossing out numerous uses of 'I would like to…' and 'Perhaps we could…' in my thesis.

Although for the most part I have bowed to his direction on editorial and grammatical revisions throughout this thesis, I have also put a great deal of effort into following Aboriginal conventions about how to teach and express power through using polite, indirect speech and only dealing with my direct experience. In adhering to these conventions I become a person of strength because I allow my listeners freedom of choice: only those who recognize my strength and who wish to learn will follow my example. As well, I am conscious that I am in a position of influence because of my connections to these two groups and that many individuals hear my words. If I spoke too generally about a world movement, or too aggressively about changing archaeology, or too proudly about future work, the conventions I am following would be broken and the power of my words would be lessened in my ears, and I believe in the ears of others. If I became too focused on telling other archaeologists or other Aboriginal people how to behave I would be speaking and acting from a weakened position.

What I can give my examiners are new and alternative endings for this thesis. In these endings I will speak in each of the languages that I know, one archaeological and one Aboriginal. I will follow the conventions that each value system has established for communication. Therefore, in my Western ending I will speak in a formal, concrete, prescriptive mode, while in my Aboriginal ending I will speak in a personal, non-directive, narrative form. These two conclusions are separate, but equal. They each say exactly the same thing.

Archaeological Conclusion

Mainstream archaeology has been built on a Western philosophical base and uses Western cultural values to create the science that archaeologist's practice. Mainstream archaeology relies on a colonial cultural *milieu* that allows White archaeologists to practice an 'archaeology of them' on Aboriginal people. This exclusionary positioning precludes Western archaeologists from perceiving the possibilities of utilizing alternative cultural systems and values in order to expand their archaeological *repertoire*. Simply put, Western archaeologists have been trapped by the cultural perspective that the discipline relies on. Archaeology exists in its present form because the dominant culture has blinded and deafened archaeological practitioners to alternative ways of knowing the past. Nevertheless, it is possible to do a different kind of archaeology.

The archaeology that is presented in this thesis is grounded in an Aboriginal value system that is different from, indeed often at odds with, Western archaeology. First and foremost, Aboriginal communities value their children and the maintenance of cultural continuity. Thus, the contributions that archaeologists can make to the education of children are highly valued within this alternative archaeology. Aboriginal values also emphasize conservation of resources and collaborative action, therefore this archaeology has been developed to minimize excavation and maximize community-based research.

This archaeology asks different questions than Western archaeology. Western archaeology begins with a presumption that categorization by division is the most logical and productive way of examining archaeological phenomena. The archaeology presented in this thesis begins with the presumption, based on Aboriginal value systems; that holism is the most logical and productive means of exploring the world. Therefore,

because this archaeology is based on a holistic perspective that emphasizes connections rather than separations, Aboriginal archaeology is able to produce lines of inquiry which result in finding sites that have more in common with Old World archaeological sites than New World sites. A primary example which demonstrates the success of this holistic approach is the discovery of the area of Lac Ste. Anne, which combines an extensive pre-contact archaeological record with present day cultural use by Aboriginal people.

The archaeology developed in this thesis facilitates an understanding and an experience of the past in a different way than Western archaeology does. Most Western archaeological understandings of the past begin with the presumption that both physical space and/or cultural activities are universally divided into categories of sacred and secular. Based on Aboriginal values that do not recognize a strict division between secular and sacred, the archaeology in this thesis begins with the presumption that physical space and/or cultural activities universally combine sacred and secular elements and therefore all archaeological sites reflect a co-mingling of these aspects of peoples lives.

In order to practice Aboriginal archaeology Western people must learn to open themselves up to possibilities. Western archaeologists must consciously hold in abeyance the cultural assumptions they bring with them into the field and they must be fully engaged in the present moment when they interact with Aboriginal communities. Western archaeologists must learn what their responsibilities are as listeners, in order to properly hear the language of Aboriginal elders. In order for Western archaeological practice to change, Aboriginal archaeology should be taught to students, worldwide networking should be aggressively pursued, and active archaeological research that incorporates

multiple disciplines and perspectives should be conducted at the Lac Ste. Anne site as well as at other Aboriginal sites around the world.

Many Western Universities are actively working to increase the enrollment of minority groups. The result has been an infusion of alternative viewpoints and methodologies into academia that continues to challenge all disciplines, including Western archaeology. Despite the initial conflicts of such challenges, the resulting development of new theoretical orientations and practical methodologies will ultimately strengthen the discipline of archaeology.

Aboriginal Conclusion

A girl left her tribe behind and went into the wilderness. She was searching for a vision. This girl went through the forest and over the rivers and climbed up a mountain. She traveled in this wilderness for four years. Finally, she reached the top of the mountain and found a place to wait for her vision. She waited and waited. She was very tired but still she waited. She was very hungry but still she waited. She was very thirsty but still she waited. And one day White Buffalo Calf Woman came and she was beautiful. She spoke to the girl without words and the girl saw without eyes. The girl heard each stone speak to her, she felt the breath of spirits on her face, and she saw the footprints of her ancestors moving over the land. Then White Buffalo Calf Woman took the girl and opened her veins and the girl's blood poured out onto the ground. It mixed with the dust and soaked into the earth. Next White Buffalo Calf Woman took the girl and cut her hair and peeled her flesh from her bones. She let the hair fall into a stream and gave the flesh to the wolves to eat. Finally, White Buffalo Calf Woman took the

girl's bones and grinding them into dust, she flung the dust into the wind. Then White Buffalo Calf Woman waited. She waited and waited. She was very tired but still she waited. She was very hungry but still she waited. She was very thirsty but still she waited. And one day the girl came and she was beautiful. Then White Buffalo Calf Woman showed the girl that the land remembered all people and that each stone and blade of grass held the voice of an ancestor. She instructed the girl in ceremonies that would let her speak to her ancestors and gave her special gifts and objects to use when she returned home. White Buffalo Calf Woman spent four years teaching the girl and then it was time for her to return to her people. For the first time the girl was afraid. When she told White Buffalo Calf Woman how afraid she was, White Buffalo Calf Woman gave her one more thing. She showed the girl that all the people in the world had been made from the same soil and the same water and the same wind and that the spark of life in each came from the same fire. And the girl saw that she was related to her tribe and her tribe was related to other tribes and other tribes were related to other tribes and all tribes were one. Then the girl knew that wherever she walked her ancestors were walking with her and that whenever she spoke her spirits where speaking with her and she was no longer afraid.

Then I knew myself as Thunderbird Woman. I have returned and the gifts I bring from White Buffalo Calf Woman are for all of us.

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Appendix I: Archaeological site forms from area surrounding Lac Ste. Anne

Alberta
CULTURE, YOUTH AND RECREATION

Return to: Archaeological Site Inventory Data
Archaeological Survey of Alberta
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X9

Borden No. FkPn 1
Cross Ref. 43:20 - 4

1974 CONTRACT: Highways North

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onaway
3. Latitude 53°43'N
4. Longitude 114°17'+W
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 791 543
6. Legal Description NE ¼ SW ¼ of Section 31, T 54, R 2 W of 5 M between N.W. & S.W.
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach [redacted]
9. Site Type Surface scatter
10. Description several small On A knolls overlooking the Sturgeon River to the East - [redacted] n
Artifacts found on surface.
11. Local Environmental Setting Vegetation cleared but no apparent cultivation.
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown
13. Dating Evidence
14. Material Collections and Storage Location P.M.A. - field notes, artifacts (3 flakes, 2 cores)
Report on file at A. S. of A. library, #145
15. Site Condition:
☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed
☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Future road construction.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by R. Freeman

☒ surface collected by ☒ tested by

☐ excavated by Date May 11, 1974

18. Recommendations None

by

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address D.O.H.T.

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments
see attached & report

21. Form Completed by G. Prager for R. Freeman Date June 12, 1975

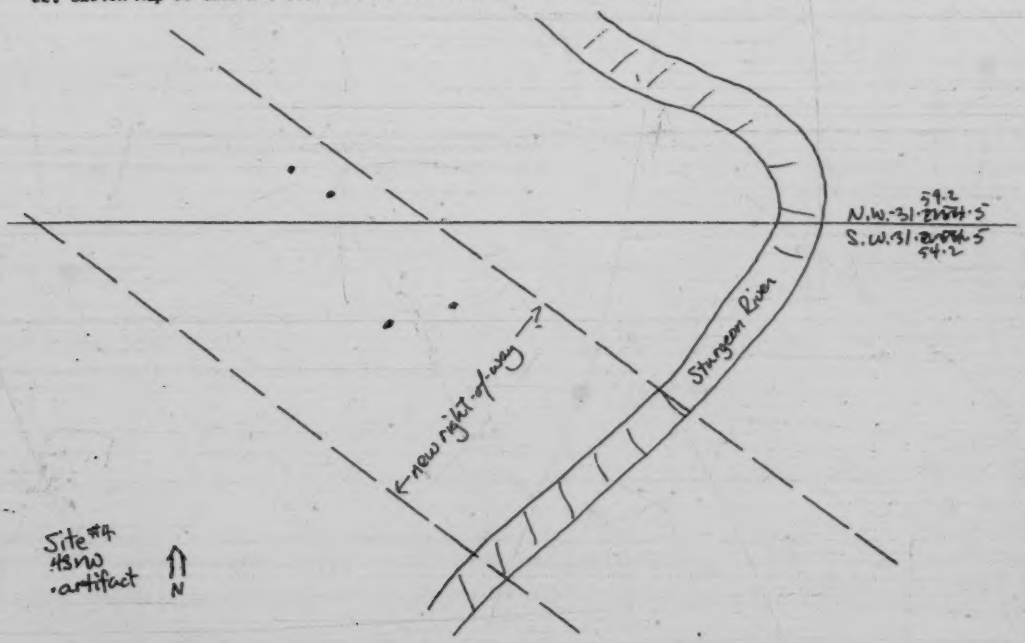
22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation 1974 Contract: Highways Survey North Date Summer 1974

FkPn-1 53°43' N. 11UPK 791 543 83G/9
114°17' W.

-2-

22. Sketch Map of Site No. Site #4 (43:20) by R. Freeman Date 11/7/74



23. Other Maps of Site none

24. Photographs —

25. Approach to Site see general 43:20 map

26. Nearest known other site Site #3 (43:20)

27. Remarks Artifacts were found on several small knolls overlooking the Sturgeon River to the east. Test pits were also dug on those hills but with negative results. The area appears to have been cleared of vegetation but there are no signs of cultivation

R.F.

Alberta
CULTURE, YOUTH AND RECREATION

Return to: Archaeological Site Inventory Data
Archaeological Survey of Alberta
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X9

Borden No. FkPn 2
Cross Ref. 43:20 - 3

1974 CONTRACT: Highways North

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53°43'N
4. Longitude 114°18'W
5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK 788 548
6. Legal Description N/W ¼ N.W. ¼ of Section 31, T 54, R 2, W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ____ Series ____ Elevation ____
8. Location/Approach See following form
9. Site Type Surface scatter
10. Description In a flat cultivated field about 500 yards west of the Sturgeon River. A possible biface and several flakes found in cultivated field.
11. Local Environmental Setting Cultivated field
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown
13. Dating Evidence ____
14. Material Collections and Storage Location P.M.A. - field notes, artifacts (a biface & some flakes)
No photos - Report on file at A. S. of A/ library, #145
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☒ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Destroyed by cultivation

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by R. Freeman

☒ surface collected by ..... ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date May 11, 1974

18. Recommendations None

..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address D.O.H.T.

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

See attached & report

21. Form Completed by G. Prager for R. Freeman Date June 12, 1975

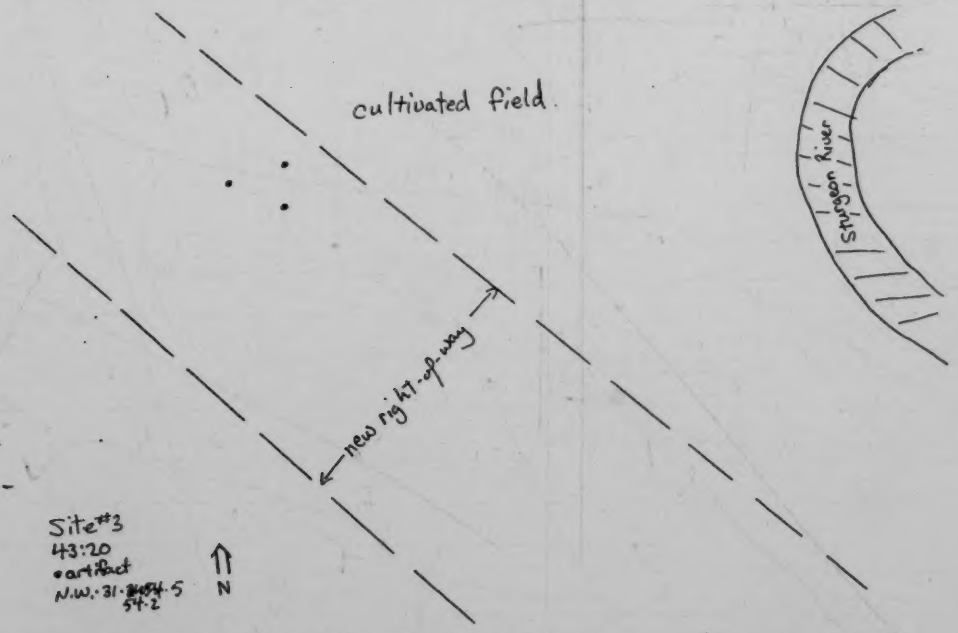
22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 1974 Contract: Highways Survey North Date Summer, 1974

FRFn-2 53°43' N. 114°18' W. IIUPK 788 548 836/9

-2-

22. Sketch Map of Site No. 3 (43:20) ..... by R. Freeman ..... Date ~~11~~ 11/5/74



23. Other Maps of Site ..none.....

24. Photographs ....none.....

25. Approach to Site . (see general 43:20 map.).....

26. Nearest known other site .Site #4 (43:20).....

27. Remarks A biface(?) and several flakes were found in a cultivated in the N.W. 31 54.5 Area is generally flat and about 500 yrds west of the s Sturgeon River. Site destroyed by cultivation. R.F.

Alberta
CULTURE, YOUTH AND RECREATION

Return to:

Archaeological Site Inventory Data
Archaeological Survey of Alberta
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X9

Borden No. FkPn 3
Cross Ref. 43:20 - 1

1974 CONTRACT : Highways North

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53°44'N
4. Longitude 114°19'50"W
5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK 762 568
6. Legal Description SW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 11, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach 2 Mi. East of Gunn, on existing Hwy. 43.
9. Site Type Surface scatter
10. Description On a small ridge overlooking several seasonal lakes and ponds in a cultivated field. Several artifacts found in cultivated field.
11. Local Environmental Setting Cultivated field with small seasonal lakes
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown
13. Dating Evidence
14. Material Collections and Storage Location P.M.A. - field notes, photo, artifacts (spall, core, flake) Report on file at A. S. of A. library, #145
15. Site Condition:
- ☐ undisturbed
- ☐ largely disturbed
- ☐ partially disturbed
- ☒ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Destroyed by cultivation

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by R. Freeman

☒ surface collected by ..... ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date June 11, 1974

18. Recommendations None

..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address D.O.H.T.

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

See attached & report

21. Form Completed by G. Prager for R. Freeman Date June 12, 1975

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 1974 Contract: Highways Survey North Date Summer, 1974

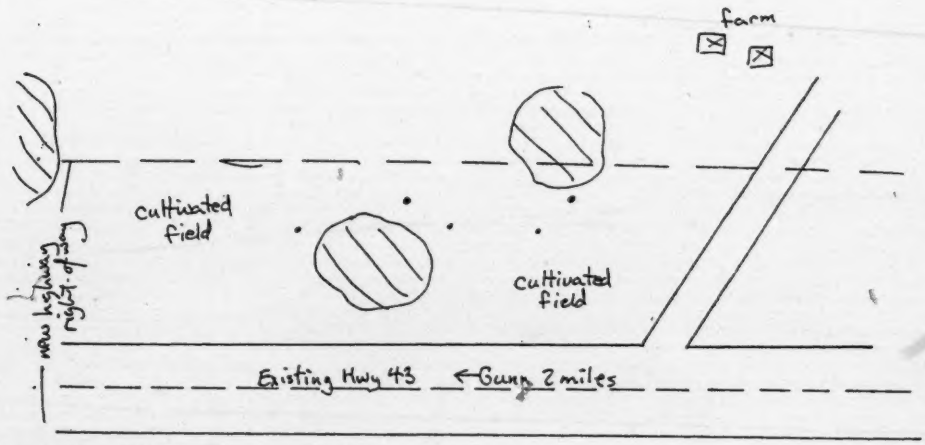
FRFn-5 (check legal)

11UPK 162 568 ?
53°44'/114°19'50"

83G/9

-2-

22. Sketch Map of Site No. 1 (43:20) by R. Freeman Date 11/6/74



Site #1
43:20
• artifact ⊗ seasonal lake
S.E. ¼ 55-3-5

N

23. Other Maps of Site none

24. Photographs Roll #1 Fr. 19

25. Approach to Site 2 miles east of Gunn on existing hwy 43

26. Nearest known other site Site #2 (43:20)

27. Remarks Several artifacts found in a cultivated flood field on low ridges overlooking 2 small seasonal lakes. Site destroyed by cultivation.

R.F.

Alberta
CULTURE, YOUTH AND RECREATION

Return to:

Archaeological Site Inventory Data

Archaeological Survey of Alberta
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X9

Borden No. FkPn 4
Cross Ref. 43:20 - 2

1974 CONTRACT: Highways North

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53°44'N
4. Longitude 114°19'W
5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK 769 567
6. Legal Description NW ¼ N.W. ¼ of Section 1, T 55, R 3, W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach 2 1/2 miles east of Gunn on hwy. 43.
9. Site Type Surface scatter
10. Description In a cleared field on small ridge overlooking small seasonal lakes. Two artifacts found in field.
11. Local Environmental Setting Cleared field
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown
13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location P.M.A. - field notes, photo, artifacts (Core, chopper? anvil?) Report on file in A. S. of A. library, # 145
15. Site Condition:
- ☐ undisturbed
- ☐ largely disturbed
- ☒ partially disturbed
- ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors To be destroyed by road expansion

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by R. Ereeman

☒ surface collected by ..... ☒ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date June 11, 1974

18. Recommendations .....

..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address D.O.H.T.

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

See attached & report

21. Form Completed by G. Prager for R. Freeman Date June 12, 1975

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

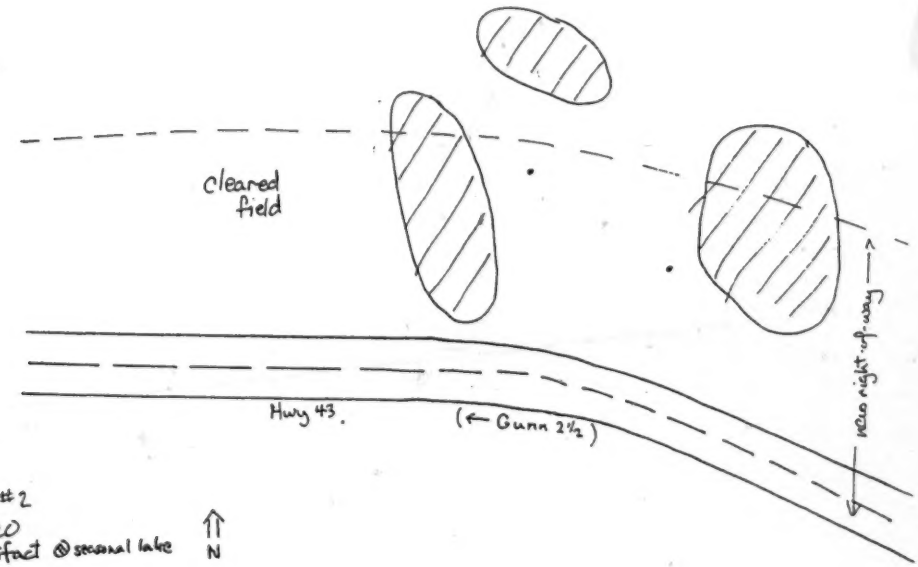
23. Project Affiliation 1974 Contract: Highways Survey North Date Summer, 1974

2

FkPh-4 53°44'/114° 19' 83G/9
11UPK 769 567 N.W.-1-55-3-5

-2-

22. Sketch Map of Site No. 2 (43:20) by R. Freeman Date 11/6/74



Site #2
43:20
• artifact ⊗ seasonal lake
N

23. Other Maps of Site none

24. Photographs Roll #1 fr 20

25. Approach to Site 2½ miles east of Gunn on highway 43

26. Nearest known other site Site #1 (43:20)

27. Remarks Two artifacts were found in a cleared field on the small ridges overlooking small seasonal lakes. Several test pits were dug but with negative results. Area does not appear to have much potential

R. F.

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPn-5
Cross Ref. SR933/1
(UPDATED, ON THIS FORM)

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude
4. Longitude
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK763547
6. Legal Description NW ¼ NE ¼ of Section 35, T 54, R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach Site is situated 1.2 miles south of Gunn on SR 933. Site occurs on south side of Sturgeon River.
9. Site Type Prehistoric Campsite
10. Description Scattering of quartzite flakage and fire broken rock. Landowner, D. Thompson, is in possession of a chert Pelican Lake projectile point collected from site area. Component appears to occur at the base of the plow zone. UPDATE: Test excavated Fall 1978. See report 78-72C.
11. Local Environmental Setting Site is located on the south side of the Sturgeon River, east of its entrance to Lac Ste. Anne. Site occurs on both the east and west sides of SR 933.
12. Cultural Affiliation Pelican Lake Phase
13. Dating Evidence projectile point
14. Material Collections and Storage Location Nil UPDATE: not indicated. See report 78-72C.
15. Site Condition:
    - ☐ undisturbed
    - ☐ largely disturbed
    - ☒ partially disturbed
    - ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Site partially destroyed by SR 933 construction and disturbed by cultivation. Further destruction by SR 933 expansion.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by E.M. Calder

☐ surface collected by ..... ☒ tested by Lifeways, Fall 1978

☐ excavated by ..... Date November 1977 and 1978

18. Recommendations Excavate. UPDATE: No further work required.

..... by E.M. Calder (1977) and E. McCullough (7

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by E.M. Calder / S. Van Dyke Date November 1977 / June 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 77-43, 78-72C Date June 6, 1977 and June 1978

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPn-7
Cross Ref. #7

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83 G/9 Onoway

3. Latitude 53° 43' 4. Longitude 114' 19° 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 765 547

6. Legal Description NE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 35, T 54, R 3 W of 5 M

7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....

8. Location/Approach Take road north of Alberta Beach that goes to Hwy 43. At Sturgeon river crossing stop and proceed on north bank or by canoe to site on first major downstream bend in river

9. Site Type Buried-campsite 10. Description On a clay terrace some scattered fire broken rock and flakes density of material is very light

11. Local Environmental Setting aspen forest, marsh and STurgeon River floodplain surround a low 1½ meter high terrace of sandy clay which has been cleared of vegetation.

12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....

14. Material Collections and Storage Location ASA - flake, FBR

15. Site Condition:
☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed
☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed

16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors cottage development

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by John Pollock and Wayne Gibbs

☒ surface collected by J. Pollock, W. Gibbs ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 20, 1978

18. Recommendations no further work - site of little value

..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address unknown - may be H and A Blocker

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by John Pollock Date July 20, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation ASA 78-50 Date .....

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPn-8
Cross Ref. #9

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 795 554
6. Legal Description SW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 6, T 55, R 2, W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach TAke Hwy 43 east from the Gunn Hwy turnoff, go east to where Sturgeon River crosses the Hwy (approximately 3 miles), site is on a terrace overlooking the Sturgeon River to the south
9. Site Type scattered surface campsite 10. Description quartzite cores and flakeage as well as FBR was found eroding out of cattle trails along a terrace overlooking The sturgeon River, lithic material may extend back into farmer's hayed field.
11. Local Environmental Setting parkland transitional zoen - poplar, and aspen along the Sturgeon, little undergrowth
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location quartzite spall flake, cores, FBR and quartzite flakeage
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed to ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors cattle and further farming activity

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Gibbs, Pollock and Newton

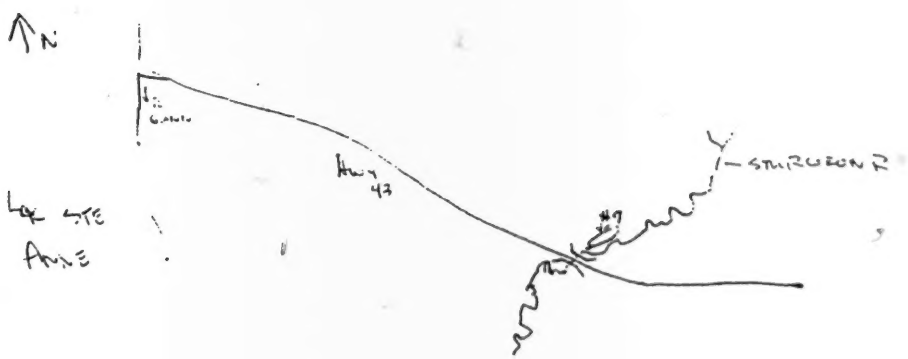
☒ surface collected by Gibbs, Pollock, Newton ☐ tested by

☐ excavated by Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations no further work required as site is largely destroyed by cattle and farming activity by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Adolf Foht
Onoway

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne & Sturgeon River Survey Date

78-50

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPo-2
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway

3. Latitude 53°40'?" 4. Longitude 114°21'?" 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 7515 6

6. Legal Description Prob. SE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 22, T 54, R 3, W of 5 M

7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....

8. Location/Approach This site is on a residential lot in the village of Alberta Beach.

9. Site Type Buried site (Isolated Finds) 10. Description [redacted] in roadside ditch adjacent to [redacted]. The ditch is treed-- roadway created some time ago.

Exposed by gas pipeline cut (see #14).

11. Local Environmental Setting Glacial and lacrustrine deposits in the area. Poplar trees. Lac St. Anne nearby.

12. Cultural Affiliation unknown 13. Dating Evidence .....

14. Material Collections and Storage Location Siltstone spall-- heavily patinated, 2 crude siltstone cobbles showing working (part of the same parent material-- bedding planes adjoin and pieces fit together) collected.

15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed

16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Gas pipeline cut through and exposed rock concentration; now is filled in.

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by .....

☐ surface collected by ..... ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date .....

18. Recommendations When in area investigate and survey surface for cultural indications.

..... by Connie Hall

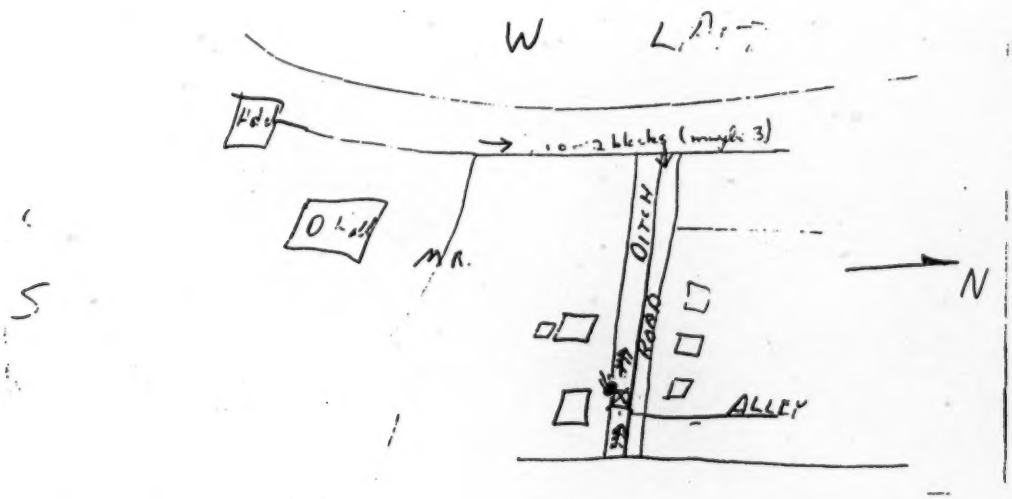
19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

- Require confirmation of site nature-- survey not expedient.



21. Form Completed by Connie Hall Date November 29, 1974

22. Information Supplied by Mr. Don Wesley of Northwestern Utilities Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Archaeological Survey of Alberta Date .....

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPo-3
Cross Ref. 43:20&22/1

(UPDATED, ON THIS FORM)

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude
4. Longitude
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK749565
6. Legal Description NE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 3, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach Site is situated on the west side of Gunn, approximately 65m north of the lakeshore.
9. Site Type Prehistoric Campsite 10. Description Concentrationquartzite flakes (tools) found in bulldozer cut in two locations on lakeshore (Lac Ste. Anne).
UPDATED: Re-examination of site in Fall 1978 revealted that no further action is necessary as site was further disturbed by removal of borrow. See Final Report 78-72C.
11. Local Environmental Setting Aspen Parkland around lakeshore.
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown 13. Dating Evidence Nil
14. Material Collections and Storage Location Collection: quartzite biface, 10 quartzite biface fragments and numerous flakes.
Storage: ASA
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed 1978
☒ partially disturbed 1977 ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Any surface preparation for lot construction or land leveling. Site is on right-of-way. UPDATE: Largely disturbed by borrow/gravel mine

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by R.J. Pickard

☒ surface collected by R.J. Pickard ☒ tested by Lifeways, Fall 1978

☐ excavated by ..... Date November 1977

18. Recommendations Excavate intact surfaces.

UPDATE: No further action necessary as site largely disturbed by borrow source/gravel mining. by R.J. Pickard

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by R.J. Pickard Date November 1977

22. Information Supplied by S. Van Dyke E. McCullough Date Fall 1978 June 1979

23. Project Affiliation 77-43 and 78-72C Date June 6, 1977

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPo-5
Cross Ref. #1

1. Site Name YELLOWSTONE 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83 G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53° 44' 4. Longitude 114° 23' 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 726 567
6. Legal Description SW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 9, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach Turn left off Hwy 43 a few kilometers west of Hwy 33 junction and proceed to the summer village of Yellowstone - site is in campground or public area at extreme west side of cottage area.
9. Site Type Buried-campsite 10. Description Site is located on a sand/clay terrace some 1-2 meters above lake level. A thin veneer of FBR, flakes, etc. are exposed in areas heavily used by campers, etc.
11. Local Environmental Setting Aspen parkland, lake foreshore with sandy beach and extensive reed beds - shroe forms a muted point at this location .
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location ASA
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Area will be used as a camping/picnic location.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by John Pollock and Wayne Gibbs

☒ surface collected by John Pollock ☐ tested by

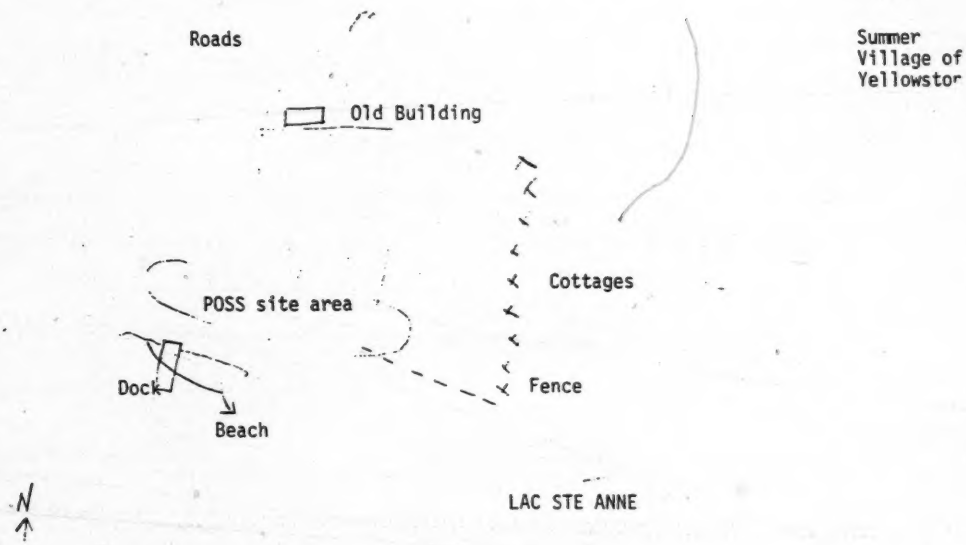
☐ excavated by Date July 18, 1978

18. Recommendations Subsurface testing

by

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Public land

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by J.W. Pollock Date July 18, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation 78-50 Date

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPo-6
Cross Ref. #3

1. Site Name HODGSON SITE
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway 11UPK
3. Latitude 53° 43'
4. Longitude 114° 27'
5. U.T.M. Location 683 537
6. Legal Description NW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 36, T 54, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach Take secondary highway 634 west form Alberta Beach turn right to lake Lac Ste Anne narrows road proceed north 3.2 ¼ sections turn right to lake shore
9. Site Type Buried-campsite
10. Description a high gravel, sand and clay ridge meets the shore buried cultural materials are exposed along a 800 x 50 meter area on top the ridge beginning at the lakeshore and fading as one proceeds, richest area is on highest point of ridge just west of new cottage.
11. Local Environmental Setting Lakeshore setting, where a high ridge of sand and clay meets the lake - this is the highest land on the south shore - land is now pasture - and has never been ploughed.
12. Cultural Affiliation .....
13. Dating Evidence can only be provided through excavation.
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 1 projectile point base, 3 bifaces, 3 scrapers, cores, flakes, unifaces, FBR - site is very rich, all of above materials collected from a lanerdy which runs through middle of site.
15. Site Condition:
    - ☐ undisturbed
    - ☐ largely disturbed
    - ☒ partially disturbed
    - ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors A new cotage has just been built (1978) in the middle of the site - excavation needed during 1979-80.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by John Pollock

☒ surface collected by Pollock and Gibbs ☒ tested by Pollock and Gibbs

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 19, 1978

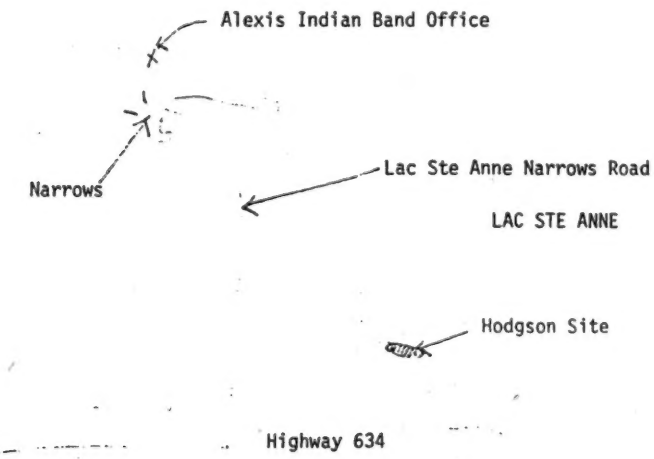
18. Recommendations Strongly recommend this site be excavated by a full crew

..... by John Pollock

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address (Alland) A.S. Hodgson - Edmonton Office phone 424-6127, home 452-6083, cottage 924-2471 owner amendable to excavation - phone before visiting property.

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

Recommend that at least 40 one meter or 10 two x two meter units be excavated at this site, this is the best site left on the lake as regards quantity of cultural remaisn and lack of disturbance. The site area is cleared but has never been ploughed Work should be done in 1979 or 1980.



21. Form Completed by John Pollock Date July 20, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation ASA Permit 78-50 Date .....

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPo-7
Cross Ref. #4

1. Site Name FARMING ISLAND 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53° 43' 4. Longitude 114° 29' 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 651 556
6. Legal Description SE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 3, T 55, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach Proceed by boat west from Lac Ste. Anne Narrous - no road access - site located on extreme northrn tip of long narrow Island.
9. Site Type Buried-campsite 10. Description entire island has potential but only northern tip surface collected as this is part of Alexis Indian Reserve.
11. Local Environmental Setting Island covered by Aspen Parkland and some spruce - sandy soil.
12. Cultural Affiliation by Cree from Alexis band 13. Dating Evidence still in use
14. Material Collections and Storage Location only fire broken rock and one poss core observed
15. Site Condition: ☒ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors camping and recreational users.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by John Pollock and Wayne Gibbs

☐ surface collected by ..... ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 20, 1978

18. Recommendations subsurface testing warranted but band permission must be obtained first.

..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Alexis Indian Reservation - Lac Ste. Anne

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by John Pollock Date July 20, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 78-50 Date .....

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
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Borden No. FkPo-8
Cross Ref. #6

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude
4. Longitude
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 713 566
6. Legal Description SE ¼ SE ¼ of Section 8, T 55, R 3, W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach From Alberta Beach head north on road hugging Lac Ste Anne shoreline 2½ miles west of Gunn -here take road south ½ mile to water walk to point best access by boat.
9. Site Type scattered-surface-campsite 10. Description site is on public access land to lake for individuals in Ross Haven Summer Village on high point overlooking water 5 spall flakes, a biface, FBR and a quartzite flake was recovered on the surface.
11. Local Environmental Setting high point overlooking water largely grassed over (lawn) few trees, marshy area shore largely removed by cottagers.
12. Cultural Affiliation 13. Dating Evidence
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 5 large spall flakes of quartzite, 1 small quartzite flake, 1 large quartzite biface)oval nearly complete however broken into two pieces).
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors further cottage and real estate development

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Pollock and Gibbs

☒ surface collected by Pollock and Gibbs ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 20, 1978

18. Recommendations Further investigation on high point area, this would entail getting in touch with cottage owners for approval by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Ross Haven Summer Village

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

Owner with seaplane owns land with portion of site on their land

frontage is now mainly a lawn

site diturbance probably stabilized here

21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 20, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste. Anne Survey Date .....

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Borden No. FkPo-9
Cross Ref. #8

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/5 ; Onoway

3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 748 565

6. Legal Description NE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 3, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M

7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....

8. Location/Approach From Gunn head west ½ mile, take road from there south a short distance to gravel pit on Hansen and Moyer Beach, trailer park immediately east of site.

9. Site Type scattered surface campsite 10. Description on bulldozed terrace and subsequent beach (now destroyed-gravel pit) ridge was site, quartzite, flakes, FBR quartzite cores, chert endscraper, chert flakes, split pebbles, 1 retouched chert flake, 2 biface frags, also historic ceramics and rusted pre 1900 knife

11. Local Environmental Setting on a terrace overlooking Lac Ste Anne, snad soil, old beach ridge ahs been destroyed by gravel pit, wees, cover area now, marshy land with seaweed near shoreline

12. Cultural Affiliation not known 13. Dating Evidence .....

14. Material Collections and Storage Location as above

15. Site Condition:
- ☐ undisturbed
- ☒ largely disturbed
- ☐ partially disturbed
- ☒ destroyed

16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Further bulldozing, land and gravel pit expansion and development.

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by Gibbs and Pollock

☐ surface collected by same ☐ tested by

☐ excavated by Date

18. Recommendations furter investigation on land just north of trailer park and site, here land adjacent site undisturbed by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Trailer park (owners)

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

farmer owns land just north of trailer park, testing here may show whether site extends into undisturbed area.

21. Form Completed by Gibbs Date July 20, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste. Anne Survey 78-50 Date July 20, 1978

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Borden No. FkPo-10
Cross Ref. #11

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway

3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 748 503

6. Legal Description SW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 22, T 54, R 3 W of 5 M

7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....

8. Location/Approach proceed to Alberta Beach on the southeast corner of Lac Ste Anne site is in public campground just off the main street

9. Site Type Assorted-find 10. Description retouched cobble spall recovered in roadway

11. Local Environmental Setting parkland transitional zone, lake terrace approximately 100 meters from water, scattered poplar and aspen cover site area

12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....

14. Material Collections and Storage Location unilaterally retouched cobble spall

15. Site Condition:
- ☐ undisturbed
- ☐ largely disturbed
- ☒ partially disturbed
- ☐ destroyed

16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors erosion and further campground useage.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Gibbs, Pollock and Newton

☒ surface collected by Gibbs, Pollock, Newton ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations further work not required

..... by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Alberta Beach

Public campground

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey Date .....

78-50

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

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Borden No. FkPo 11
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/16 Lac la Nonne

3. Latitude 53° 45' 30" 4. Longitude 114° 22' 18" 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 733 597

6. Legal Description NW ¼ NW ¼ of Section 15, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M

7. Air Photo Reference Number Line 16 45 Series AS 1583 Elevation .....

8. Location/Approach At Lac Ste. Anne turn right off Highway 43 opposite the turnoff to the S.V. of Yellowstone and proceed north to the legal description. The site is located 300 metres east of the access road near the northwest corner of the property on the east/west access road.

9. Site Type Surficial isolated find 10. Description Site is situated on the east-west access road on a knoll on the east side of a slough. A single quartzite flake was collected from the exposed surface. Intensive surface inspection and excavation of 5 subsurface tests in the area failed to locate any additional materials.

11. Local Environmental Setting Aspen parkland; on a knoll overlooking a slough exposed by road construction. Remainder of property covered by dense forest and is characterized by rolling hills and poorly drained lowland areas.

12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown 13. Dating Evidence none

14. Material Collections and Storage Location One quartzite flake, Archaeological Survey of Alberta

15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☑ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed

16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Site has been exposed by road construction; further development may impact site

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by E. J. McCullough & Barry Newton

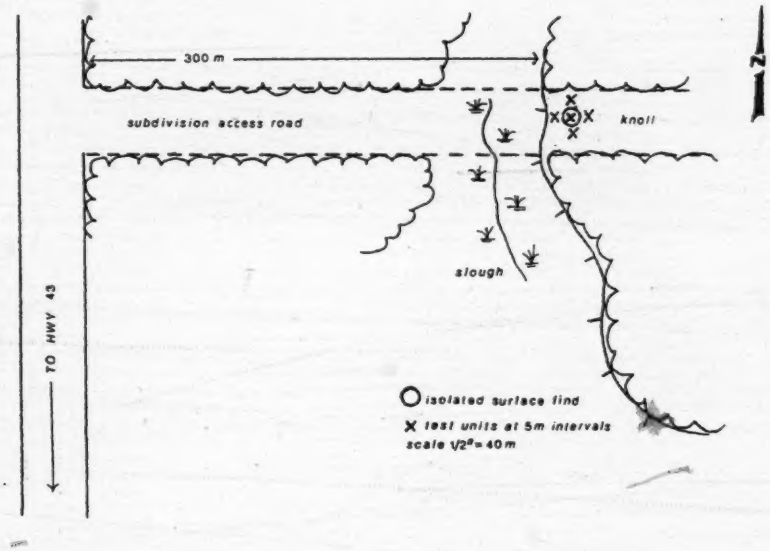
☒ surface collected by E. J. McCullough & B. Newton ☐ tested by E. J. McCullough & B. Newton

☐ excavated by ..... Date May 18, 1981

18. Recommendations Site potential is low based on isolated nature of find and sterile subsurface tests; no further work is recommended by E.J. McCullough/B. Newton

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by B. Newton Date May 22, 1981

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 81-58 Date May 18, 1981

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ALBERTA
DEC - 9 1982
HISTORICAL RESOURCES DIVISION

Borden No. FkPo 12
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ------ 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. Lac La Nonne 83G/1
3. Latitude 53° 45' 06" 4. Longitude 114° 25' 07" 5. U.T.M. Location 11U PK 702 588
6. Legal Description NW ¼ SW ¼ of Section 17, T 55, R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ------ Series ------ Elevation ------
8. Location/Approach From the town of Gunn travel north west 5 km on Highway 43. Turn west off the highway into a gas well area. From the well structure follow the cut line (Norcen r-o-w) 200 m south, then 275 m west.
9. Site Type Surface Campsite 10. Description Surface exposure by bulldozer activity resulted in exposure of cultural material on the surface of a flat area above a marsh. No further information gained by shovel testing.
11. Local Environmental Setting Directly north and 1.5 m above a marsh.
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown 13. Dating Evidence None
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 3 quartzite flakes, 2 quartzite detritus -A.S.A. 3 FCR left in the field
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Disturbed by a water irrigation line, will be further disturbed by a Norcen Energy Resources Ltd. gas pipeline.

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by S. Minni

☐ surface collected by S. Minni ☐ tested by S. Minni

☐ excavated by ----- Date 03/09/82

18. Recommendations Site too limited and disturbed to warrant further investigation.

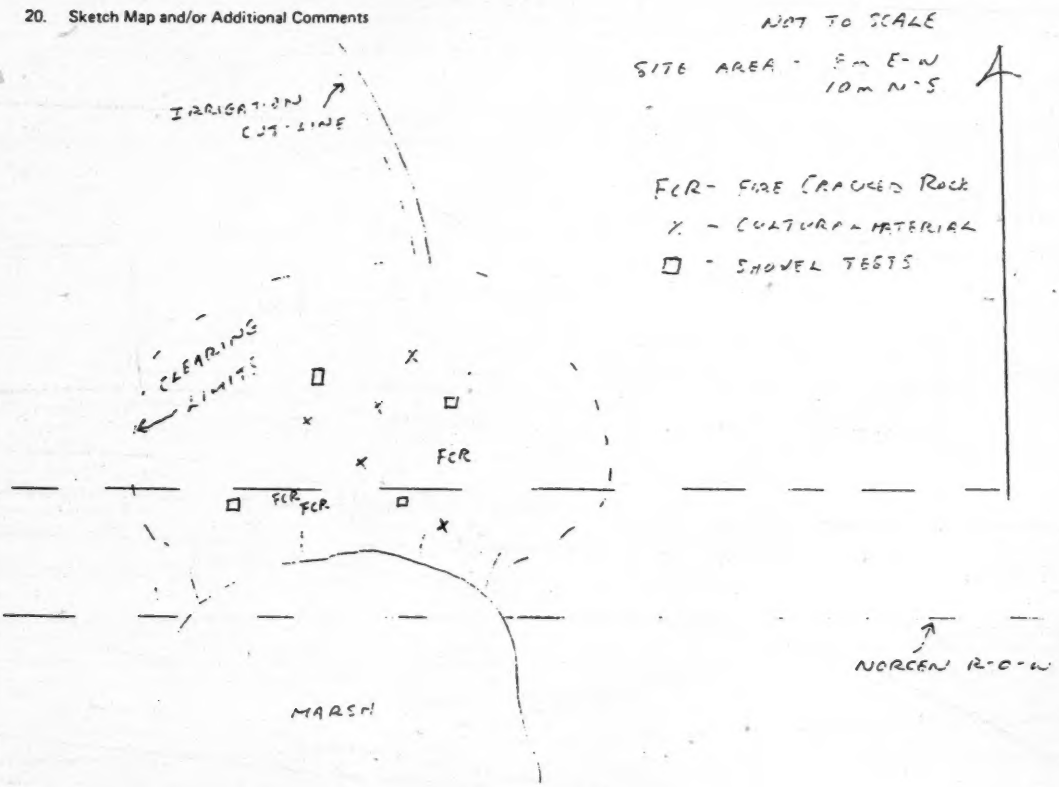
by S. Minni

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Norcen Energy Resources Ltd.

715 - 5th Avenue SE

Calgary, Alberta

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by S. Minni Date 7/9/82

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 82-104 Date Sept./82

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

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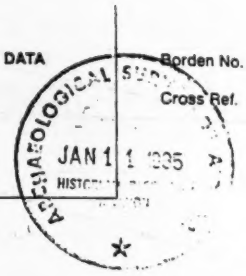
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2P8



Borden No. FkFo-13

Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ....Galaxy Site..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway.....
3. Latitude ..53°42'..... 4. Longtitude ...114°21'..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 755 512.....
6. Legal Description ..LSD 12¼ ....SW.... ¼ of Section ...23....., T ...54....., R ...3..... W of ....5.... M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach ....Take highway 16 west then north onto highway 43 to highway 33. Proceed west to summer village of Alberta Beach... Sites are on the east side of the town adjacent to 45 Ave.....
9. Site Type ...buried campsite..... 10. Description ...due to disturbance, it is hard to estimate site size but it would appear to have been 20m^2.....
11. Local Environmental Setting .....on the top of a prominent knoll well back (.5-.75 km) from the shore of Lac Ste. Anne.....
12. Cultural Affiliation .....unknown..... 13. Dating Evidence ...n/a.....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location ....quartzite core and flake - stored at ASA.....
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☒ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors ...subdivision construction.....

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by John Pollock

☐ surface collected by above ☐ tested by same

☐ excavated by Date

18. Recommendations no further work as site is now destroyed

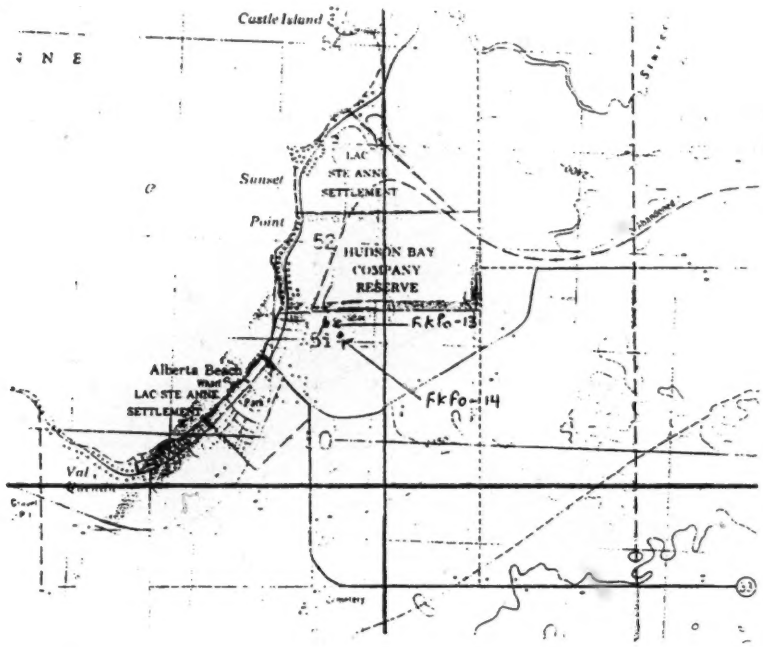
by John Pollock

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Galaxy Promotions Ltd.

10066 - 156 Street

Edmonton, Alberta

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by John Pollock Date Jan., 1985

22. Information Supplied by " Date "

23. Project Affiliation 83-75 Date Fall, 1983

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
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Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2P8

JAN 1 1 1985

Borden No. FkPo-14
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/9 Onoway
3. Latitude 53°41' 4. Longtitude 114°21' 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 756 511
6. Legal Description NSD 12 ¼ NW ¼ of Section 23 T 54 R 3 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach see description for FkPo-13
9. Site Type isolated find 10. Description surface find - no buried materials
11. Local Environmental Setting on a low knoll
12. Cultural Affiliation unknown 13. Dating Evidence n/a
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 1 cobble spall tool - at ASA
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☒ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors subdivision development

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by John Pollock

☐ surface collected by above ☐ tested by same

☐ excavated by ..... Date .....

18. Recommendations no further work

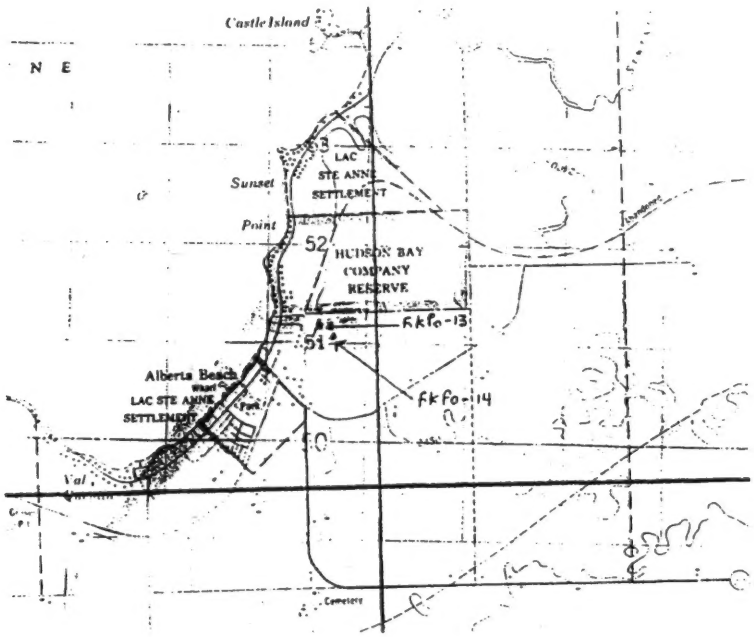
..... by John Pollock

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Galaxy Promotions Ltd.

10066 156 Street

Edmonton, Alberta

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by John Pollock Date Jan., 1985

22. Information Supplied by " Date "

23. Project Affiliation 83-75 Date Fall, 1983

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Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPp-1
Cross Ref. #2

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10, Isle Lake
3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 607 508
6. Legal Description NE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 19, T 54, R 4, W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach Take Hwy 634 west from Alberta Beach on Lac Ste Anne 8½ miles (ie 1 mile from Darwell). Then go north 1 mile to lakeshore - site in cutbank just west of road.
9. Site Type Buried-campsite 10. Description various quartzite flakes, a chalcedony flake, FBR, a bone fragment, biface fragment and a possible scraper were collected - all material from 0-15 cm b.s. in a cutbank
11. Local Environmental Setting the site was on high ground within 20 meters of Lac Ste. Anne mature poplar and heavy undergrowth cover site. - the shore is marshy with numberous bullrushes present - cutbank formed by bulldozer activity in road formation
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location quartzite flakes, chalcedony flake, FBR, biface fragment, worked piece (possible scraper).
15. Site Condition: ☒ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors .....

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Pollock and Gibbs

☒ surface collected by Pollock and Gibbs ☐ tested by

☐ excavated by Date July 19, 1978

18. Recommendations Further investigation and testing should be undertaken to determine site potential by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Eand A. Berzins
Darwell

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 19, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey 78-50 Date

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
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Borden No. FkPp-2
Cross Ref. #5

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10E Isle Lake
3. Latitude
4. Longitude
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 626 537
6. Legal Description SW ¼ NW ¼ of Section 33, T 54, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach Boat access only from Lac Ste. Anne narrows area go west to above (2 miles west) just east is a point near western construction of Lac Ste. Anne
9. Site Type Small-hearth
10. Description 65 pieces of FBR in a 2 x 2 meter area was uncovered approximately 5-10 cm b.s. in beach sand - 1 quartzite flake was found in association with this concentration
11. Local Environmental Setting Site close to Lac Ste. Anne shoreline - marshy area near shore moss and grasses supply ground cover - poplar (mature) cover site area as well as undergrowth.
12. Cultural Affiliation possibly late cree
13. Dating Evidence
14. Material Collections and Storage Location FBR SAMPLE AND 1 QUARTZITE FLAKE
15. Site Condition:
- [X] undisturbed
- [ ] largely disturbed
- [ ] partially disturbed
- [ ] destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Further real estate and cottage development

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Gibbs and Pollock

☒ surface collected by Gibbs and Pollock ☐ tested by

☐ excavated by Date July 19, 1978

18. Recommendations No further work required on this site - similar sites of this nature maybe in area however missed by shovel testing. by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Lands & Forest

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 19, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste. Anne Survey 78-50 Date

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
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Borden No. FkPp-3
Cross Ref. #12

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10 Isle Lake
3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 599 513
6. Legal Description SW ¼ SE ¼ of Section 30, T 54, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach By boat go the the very western extreme of Lac Ste Anne - ¼ of a mile south of where the sturgeon river heads west out of the lake to Isle Lake, about 1½ miles NNE of Darwell.
9. Site Type Buried-campsite 10. Description Quartzite flakeage, spall flakes, FBR and a bone fragment were unearthed through subsurface testing, on a lake terrace on the western extreme of Lac Ste Anne, cattle have created trails on terrace keeping undergrowth to a minimum.
11. Local Environmental Setting parkland, heavily wooded (poplar and aspen), undergrowth of small shrubs, grasses, etc. Bullrushes and marhs grass along shoreline, site on terrace about 10 meters above water level.
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location Quartzite flakeage, cores, FBR sample, big spall flakes bone fragment
15. Site Condition: ☒ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors real estate development for cottages.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Gibbs and Newton

☒ surface collected by Gibbs, Newton ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations Further testing is not required as cultural component appears scattered and far from major by Gibbs

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Lands and Forests

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Wayne Gibbs Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey Date .....

78-50

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
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Borden No. FkPp-4
Cross Ref. #15

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10 Isle Lake
3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK 609 509
6. Legal Description NW ¼ NW ¼ of Section 20 T 54 R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach take Hwy 634 west from Alberta beach on Lac Ste Anne 8½ miles (i.e., 1 mile east of Darwell) Proceed north 1 mile to lakeshre, site east of site 2(FkPp-1) on east side of point in backyard of J.M. Lles on road to Birchwood estates development project.
9. Site Type scattered surface. 10. Description flat sand terrace presently a residence approx. 20 meters - 50 meters inland from present lakeshore a portion of the site northeast of the house has been bulldozed onto the lakeshore to form a beach but a large buried protion of the site probably remains intact.
11. Local Environmental Setting sand and gravel terrace partially cleared for a residence covered with mixed aspen-birch on edges of clearing
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence can only be provided through excavation
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 3 bifaces, assorted flakes, cobble cores FCR, bone; site appears to be rich, all of the material was collected from an area exposed by bulldozing operations in a small section of potential site area.
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors erosion along edges of bulldozer cut plus erosion due to human activity on other areas of the site would suggest excavation in 1979-80

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Wayne Gibbs and Barry Newton

☒ surface collected by Gibbs and Newton ☐ tested by .....

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations Recommended that the site be excavated.

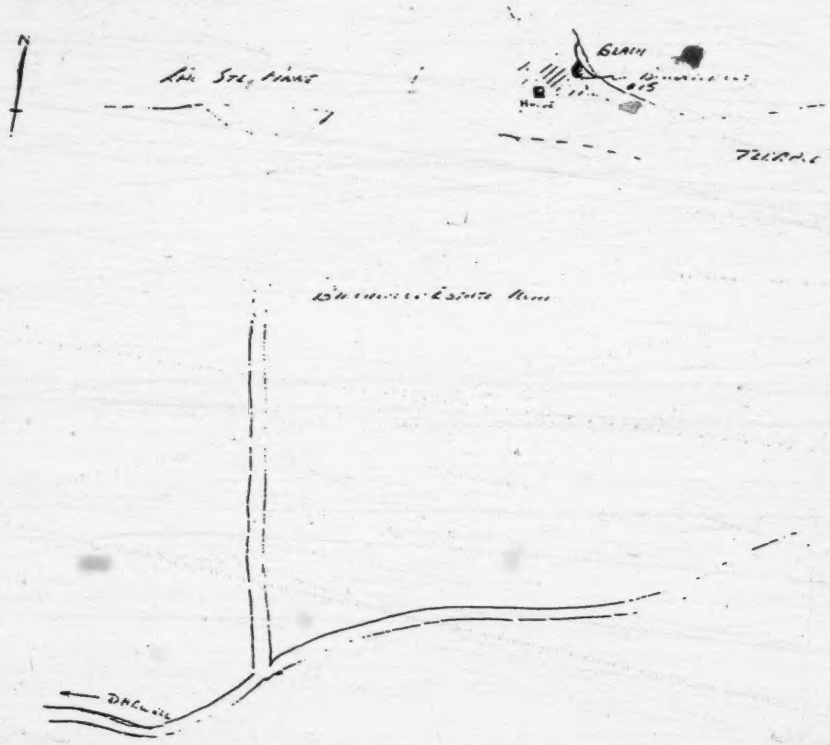
..... by .....

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments



21. Form Completed by Barry Newton Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey 78-50 Date .....

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
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Borden No. FkPp-5
Cross Ref. #16

1. Site Name ..... 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10 Isle Lake
3. Latitude ..... 4. Longitude ..... 5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK 613 508
6. Legal Description NE ¼ NW ¼ of Section 20, T 54, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ..... Series ..... Elevation .....
8. Location/Approach Hwy 634 west from Alberta Beach on Lac Ste Anne approx. 8½ miles (i.e., 1 mile east of Darwell). Proceed north to Lakeshre site east of site 15 approx 400-500 meters on same terrace
9. Site Type scattered surface campsite 10. Description site appears to be located on some sand/gravel terrace as site 15, the site has been largely destroyed by a bulldozed road extending north from the Birchwood Estate Road to the lakeshore.
11. Local Environmental Setting heavy growth of aspen/birch with thick mixed undergrowth of birch, aspen and wild rose on sand/gravel terrace approx 15-20 meters inalnd from lake.
12. Cultural Affiliation ..... 13. Dating Evidence .....
14. Material Collections and Storage Location cobble cores, split pebbles, cobble spalls - ASA
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☒ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors site partially to tollay exposed by freshly bull-dozed road which will result in futher erosion of any portion of site remaining.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Wayne Gibbs and Barry Newton

☒ surface collected by Gibbs and Newton ☐ tested by

☐ excavated by Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations limited subsurface testing on road edges to determine if any undisturbed areas remain by Barry Newton

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Barry Newton Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by Date

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey 78-50 Date

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Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No. FkPp-6
Cross Ref. #17

1. Site Name
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10 East Isle Lake
3. Latitude
4. Longitude
5. U.T.M. Location 11UPK 616 51
6. Legal Description NW ¼ NE ¼ of Section 20 T 54, R 4 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number Series Elevation
8. Location/Approach Hwy 634 west from Alberta Beach on Lac Ste Anne approx 8½ miles (i.e. 1 mile east of Darwell) Proceed north to Lake shore site NE of site #16 (FkPp-5) on south side of lake
9. Site Type buried campsite
10. Description this subsurface scatter of material on small raised therrace approx 5-10 meters above lake and approx 10-15 meters inalnd from lake, material recovered from second growth aspens to the NE of abandoned farmstead
11. Local Environmental Setting mature and second growth aspens on edge of abandoned farmstead and field surrounded by marsh to west and north along lakeshore.
12. Cultural Affiliation
13. Dating Evidence
14. Material Collections and Storage Location chalcedony flake, quartzite cobble fragment
15. Site Condition: ☒ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by Newton and Gibbs

☐ surface collected by ..... ☒ tested by Newton and Gibbs

☐ excavated by ..... Date July 27, 1978

18. Recommendations further subsurface testing

..... by Barry Newton

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address .....

.....

.....

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

21. Form Completed by Barry Newton Date July 27, 1978

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation Lac Ste Anne Survey 78-50 Date .....

Alberta
CULTURE, YOUTH AND RECREATION

Return to:

Archaeological Site Inventory Data

Archaeological Survey of Alberta
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X9

Borden No. FkPp-12
Cross Ref.

1. Site Name L'HEUREUX 2. N.T.S. Map Ref. 83G/10 Ed 2 Ser. A741
3. Latitude 53°40' N 4. Longitude 114°30' W 5. U.T.M. Location 11 UPK639537
6. Legal Description NW ¼ SW ¼ of Section 34, T 54, R 4 W of 5th M
7. Air Photo Reference Number 24 & 25 Series 1950-A12994 Elevation c. 2385 ft
8. Location/Approach proceed east from Darwell via secondary road 4.8km to junction with Valking road. Proceed north along road allowance which follows west boundary of SW¼ - 34. Refer to Engineer's plan in report 72-193 for location details.
9. Site Type open campsite 10. Description Site is comprised of two localities; one on a former beach of Lac Ste Anne, the other in upland area c. 4-5m above present lake level. Material occurs 10-15cm below surface consisting of flake detritus (13) an end scraper and flaked cobble.
11. Local Environmental Setting lakeshore and near shore location supporting aspen and balsam poplar with dense understory. Although some agricultural activity is apparent, the site area does not appear to be disturbed.
12. Cultural Affiliation unknown 13. Dating Evidence undated
14. Material Collections and Storage Location Archaeological survey of Alberta
15. Site Condition: ☒ undisturbed (?) ☐ largely disturbed ☐ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors area is under consideration for residential and resort subdivision by Marwa Brothers Realty Limited, Edmonton, Alberta.

17. Inspection Status: ☒ observed by T.J. Losey

☒ surface collected by T. Losey & K. Walde ☒ tested by T. Losey & K. Walde

☐ excavated by Date November 1979

18. Recommendations Further evaluation as per consultant's report required before sub-division approval by Timothy J. Losey

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Warwa Brothers Realty Limited, Edmonton.

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments

See consultant's report 79-193 for location and assessment details.

21. Form Completed by T.J. Losey Date November 21, 1979

22. Information Supplied by same Date "

23. Project Affiliation H.R.I.A. 79-193/ Losey Date "

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ALBERTA
RECEIVED
DEC - 9 1982
HISTORICAL RESOURCES DIVISION

Borden No. FkPp 13
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name -----
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. Isle Lake 83G/10
3. Latitude 53° 41' 5" 4. Longitude 114° 35' 41" 5. U.T.M. Location 11U PK 587.5 508.5
6. Legal Description NE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 24, T 54, R 5 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ----- Series ----- Elevation -----
8. Location/Approach From the town of Darwell travel north on Highway 765 for 1.8 km. Turn west on grid road, travel 300 m. Site is located in a hay field 190 m south of road.
9. Site Type Buried Campsite 10. Description Site is located on gently rolling land above and overlooking the Sturgeon River. 12 shovel tests exposed cultural materials at a depth of 7-10 cm BS in the cultivation zone. No surface exposure.
11. Local Environmental Setting Site is 200 m north of and approx. 2 m above the Sturgeon River and associated marshes.
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown 13. Dating Evidence None
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 1 quartzite unifacial edge tool, 1 quartzite flake - A.S.A.
2 FCR left in the site area.
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Currently cultivated, will be further disturbed by the Norcen Energy Resources Ltd. gas pipeline.

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by S. Minni

☐ surface collected by ----- ☐ tested by S. Minni

☐ excavated by ----- Date 5/9/82

18. Recommendations Site too limited to warrant further investigation.

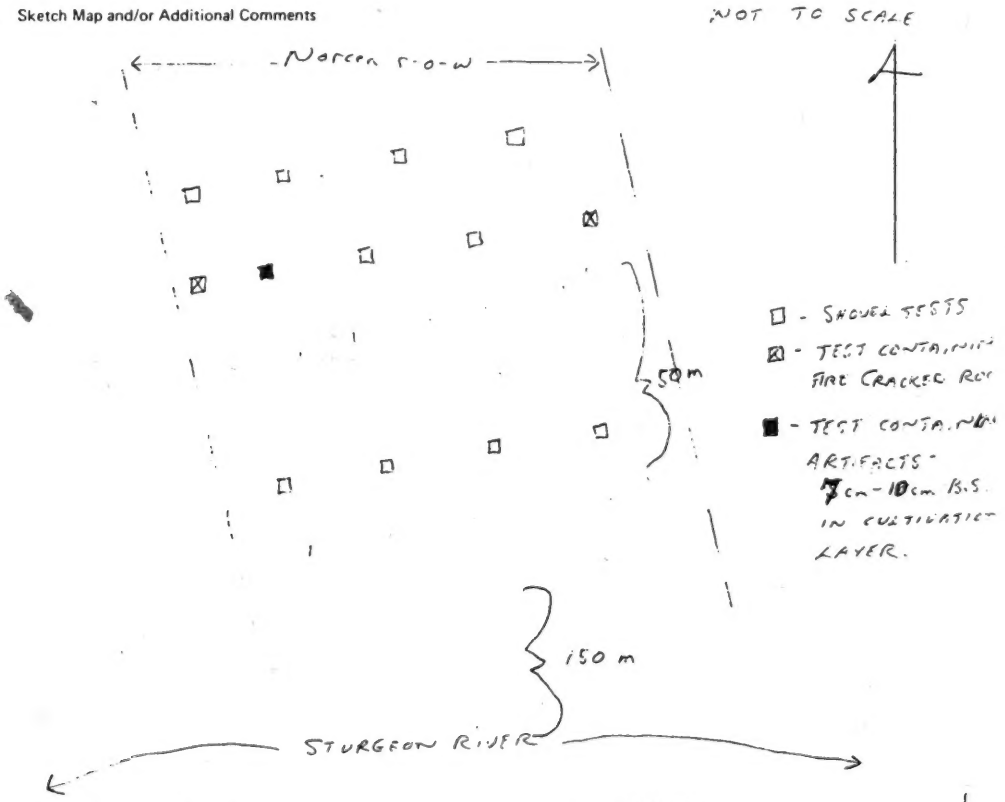
by S. Minni

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Norcen Energy Resources Ltd.

715 - 5th Ave. S.W.

Calgary, Alta

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments


NOT TO SCALE
Norcen r-o-w
50 m
150 m
STURGEON RIVER
☐ - SHOVEL TESTS
☒ - TEST CONTAINING FIRE CRACKED ROCK
■ - TEST CONTAINING ARTIFACTS 7cm - 10cm B.S. IN CULTIVATION LAYER.

21. Form Completed by S. Minni Date 8/9/82

22. Information Supplied by ..... Date .....

23. Project Affiliation 82-104 Date September/82

Alberta
CULTURE
Historic Resources Division

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY DATA

Return to:
Archaeological Survey
10158 - 103rd Street
Edmonton, Alberta T5J 0X6

Borden No FkPp 14
Cross Ref. .....

1. Site Name ------
2. N.T.S. Map Ref. ISLE LAKE 83G/10
3. Latitude 53° 40' 51" 4. Longitude 114° 35' 33" 5. U.T.M. Location 11U PK 590 505
6. Legal Description SE ¼ NE ¼ of Section 24, T 54, R 5 W of 5 M
7. Air Photo Reference Number ------ Series ----- Elevation -----
8. Location/Approach From the town of Darwell travel north on Highway 765 for 1.2 km. Site is located on a bluff overlooking the Sturgeon River approx. 150 west of the road.
9. Site Type Buried Campsite 10. Description Site is located in pasture on a small bluff/terrace overlooking the Sturgeon River. Ten shovel tests exposed cultural material at depths of 5 cm - 10 cm BS in the cultivation zone. No surface exposure.
11. Local Environmental Setting At the southern edge of and 1.5 m above the Sturgeon River and associated marshes.
12. Cultural Affiliation Unknown 13. Dating Evidence None
14. Material Collections and Storage Location 2 quartzite cortical flakes, 1 quartz tertiary flake - A.S.A.
3 FCR left in the site area.
15. Site Condition: ☐ undisturbed ☐ largely disturbed ☒ partially disturbed ☐ destroyed
16. Current and Potential Site Disturbance Factors Partially disturbed by cultivation for pasture will be further disturbed by the Norcen Energy Resources Ltd. pipeline.

17. Inspection Status: ☐ observed by S. Minni

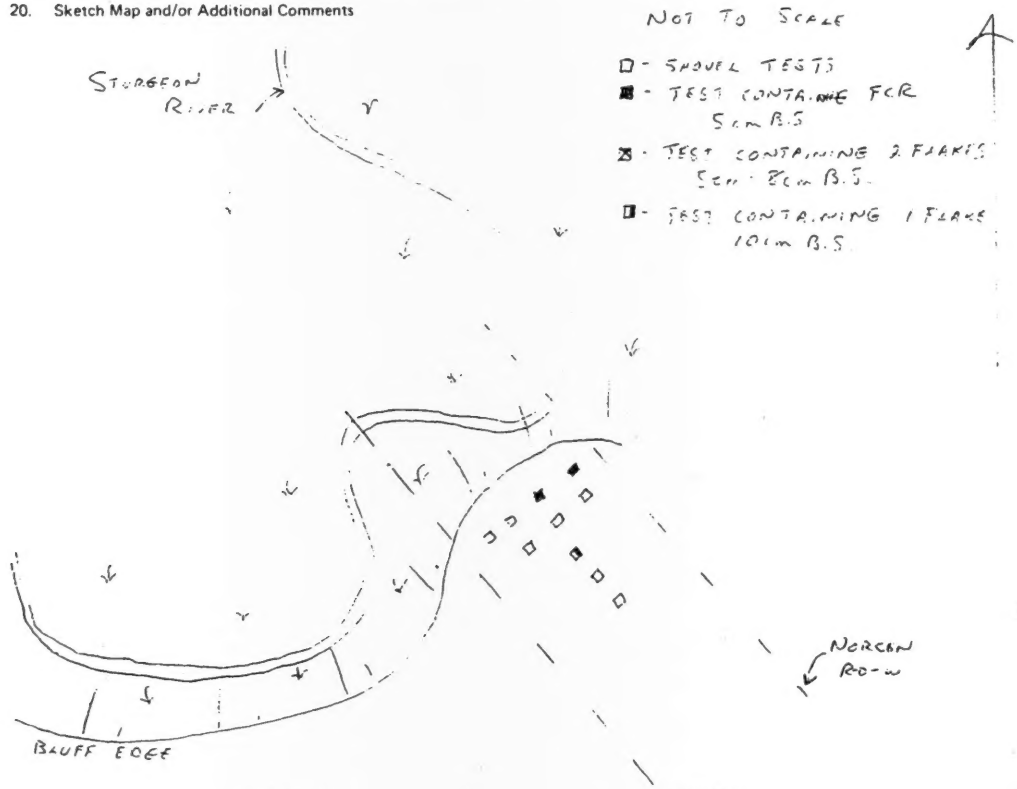
☐ surface collected by ----- ☐ tested by S. Minni

☐ excavated by ----- Date 5/9/82

18. Recommendations Site too limited to warrant further research. A river bluff 100 mSW of the Norcen r-o-w overlooking the Sturgeon River looks to have high potential for arch. remains. by S. Minni

19. Land Owner/Occupant and Address Norcen Energy Resources Ltd.
715 - 5th Ave SW
Calgary, Alberta

20. Sketch Map and/or Additional Comments


NOT TO SCALE
☐ - SHOVEL TESTS
■ - TEST CONTAINING FCR 5cm B.S
☒ - TEST CONTAINING 2 FLAKES 5cm - 8cm B.S.
☐ - TEST CONTAINING 1 FLAKE 10cm B.S
STURGEON RIVER
NORCEN R-O-W
BLUFF EDGE

21. Form Completed by S. Minni Date 7/9/82

22. Information Supplied by ---- Date ----

23. Project Affiliation 82-104 Date Sept. 1/82

Appendix II: Field Trip Comments

Class: Social 20
Date: September 25, 2000
Time: 10:30am-12noon
Teacher: Mr. Svelka

Can you think of anything that would have made the field trip better?

finding an artifact	Chris
No it's fine the way it is.	Joseph
Everybody should have participated	Annie
If we found this place earlyer	Darren
If my stomach wasn't sore	Harley
The students partiscipation. Better artifacts.	Chasidy
If I found a skull	Leah
Dinosaurs	Anton
nope	Leroy
Lunch	Titus
No.	Mr. Svelka (teacher)

What did you really like about the fieldtrip?

The walk from the school	Chris
It was intresting	Melissa
I liked everything about it.	Joseph
finding stuff!	Annie
The thing I like was the things Tara found	Darren
looking at the fossils and Dinosaurs	Harley
The Escavating. Looking at the artifacts.	Chasidy
the digging	Leah
free time	Anton
The rocks	Leroy
Fossils	Titus
Great field trip.	Mr. Svelka (teacher)

Do you have any comments about the fieldtrip or about archaeology?

NO	Chris
It was intersting. I learned a few things.	
It looks fun to be in archaeology.	Melissa
It was a great experience.	Joseph

This trip fun because we didn't have to go as far.	Darren
nope	Harley
No-Well it was fun & Interesting. Good experience	Chasidy
did you ever find a dinosaur bone	Leah
Sounds cool!	Anton
no	Leroy
No	Titus
Provides very interesting projects for the students to do.	
Very hands on.	Mr. Svelka (teacher)

Grade: 8
Date: September 27, 2000
Time: 10:30am-12noon
Teacher: Mr Svelka

Can you think of anything that would have made the field trip better?

if the water was warm. Jump off the bridge	Raven
if I jump of the brigde	Dave
cowashid (I don't know)	Alexander
cowashid	Margrett
If you had actual bones Beads ect-	Kortney/Snooz
If the had actual bones For us to dig.	Jasmine
no	Josh/Bucky/Kelly

What did you really like about the fieldtrip?

everything was good	Raven
every thing	Dave
cowashid (I don't know)	Alexander
It was alright.	Margrett
The whole thing was fun	Kortney/Snooz
I liked the digging, and cataloge.	Jasmine
The diggind	Rebecca
diging the bodwires ut of the ground	Josh/Bucky/Kelly

Do you have any comments about the fieldtrip or about archaeology?

Hiya means no.	Raven
no	Dave
hiya (NO)	Alexander
it is okay. *cowashid* about archaeology	Margrett
Nope. But I would like to Be an anthropoligist.	Kortney/Snooz
No.	Jasmine
no	Rebecca
no	Josh/Bucky/Kelly

Grade: 6
Date: September 27, 2000
Time: 1:00pm-2:30pm
Teacher: Mr. Mahoney

Can you think of anything that would have made the field trip better?

if we have mare time	Greg
Digging Deeper	Andrew
If we have more time	Randolph
if I would find a Big shell or a crystal.	Sharon/Annie
make it funner	Orlando
to go for walks	Rosalina
go walk around and dig	Tamara
no	Crystal eveingstar
measure more rocks	Gary
Dig somore	Tyson

What did you really like about the fieldtrip?

I like mearesure	Greg
Digging	Andrew
Every thing	Randolph
the Neat Stuff & Digging.	Sharon/Annie
the digging	Orlando
digging up stuff	Rosalina
the diging	Tamara
digging going out exploring talking share	Crystal eveingstar
when we were measure the small rocks	Gary
digging	Tyson
The hands on activities for the children	Mr. Mahoney (teacher)

Do you have any comments about the fieldtrip or about archaeology?

mearesure mare rockes	Greg
no I Don't	Andrew
measure more rocks	Randolph
I want to Be one.	Sharon/Annie
I want to Be one	Rosalina

It was really fun	Orlando
no	Tamara
no	Crystal eveingstar
I think it is realy fun	Gary
it seems fun.	Tyson
I really appreciate allowing the children to participate. I know some of them will pursue this further. It is a good motivator for educating the children	Mr.Mahoney (teacher)

Grade: 5
Date: October 11, 2000
Time: 1:00pm-2:30pm
Teacher: Miss Spink

Can you think of anything that would have made the field trip better?

only if we had more time to digg	Elmer
if we got to dig by our self	Devonna
Digging for shells	Christine
only if we got to dig by areslife	Myrna
more Digging and Digging for more bones	Nathens
if we dig deeper	Pet
if i had more time to digg and look for more shells	Randy
more diging	Chelsea
If we can take more things that we dug from the ground.	Skye Song
cow som ware	Ronnie
Digging on our own.	Rene
digging on our own.	Lydia
if we got to dig alone…	Erin
if we get to yose big shelvoles	Summer Sky
only if we doug on our own and go with each other	Rosalie
Mabe we can dig longer, and dig deeper.	Dallas

What did you really like about the fieldtrip?

digging and finding and learn about more stuff.	Elmer
The way we diden't have to go to school	Devonna
helping Tara Million	Christine
that we got to dig with Tara Million.	Myrna
The Digging and the map	Nathens
Becaus it was fun	Randy
finding stuff	Chelsea
I liked the part when we were digging.	Skye Song
Soft of ov it	Ronnie
I liked digging.	Rene
I like digging	Lydia
the way we DiD'ent haVe to go to shcool	Erin
I like the field trip because is't is *skwhaye*	Summer Sky
getting away from the Class Room and doing somthing	Rosalie

I like the way we can take the shells home.	Dallas

Do you have any comments about the fieldtrip or about archaeology?

no	Elmer
I want to come hear again and do somthing with tara	Devonna
That I would wish To do this thing agian with Tara	Christine
I wish that we got to come her a agin	Myrna
no	Nathens
yes	Randy
no!	Chelsea
no	Skye Song
I do not.	Rene
nope	Lydia
archaeology is fun I want to be a archaeologist when I grow up that's what I wrote in my Diary...	Erin
No!	Summer Sky
I think that we were having a little Bit of fun and only if we could dig again But where ever we want	Rosalie
no	Dallas

Appendix III: AFN #1-Artifact Catalogue

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Rebined	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scann side A+B
	C 1 1	land mollusc shell	270° PE 40 cm FC	1	7 cm	6 mm 2 mm 2 mm	(>0.1g) .0g		Grass mat + roots	cylindrical shell	Aug 10, 2000	✓ ✓
	C 1 2	land mollusc shell	245° PE 38 cm FC	1	4 cm	4.5 mm 2.5 mm 2.5 mm	(>.1g) .0g		"	"	"	✓ ✓
	C 1 3	Seed	235° PE 37 cm FC	1	7 cm	7 mm 3 mm 1 mm	(>0.1g) .0g		"		"	✓ ✓
	C 2 1	Seed, extremely hard	139° PE 16-17 cm FC	2	14.5 cm	9 mm 5 mm 3 mm	0.1g		Root + loose soil mix	Tear-drop shape. Concave	Aug H, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 2 2	Glass fragment	202° PE 27 cm FC	2	12.5 cm	4 mm 4 mm 0.5 mm	0.1g		"	Clear white glass	"	✓ ✓
	C 3 1	Possible fungus	25° PE 46-47 cm FC	3	20 cm	7 mm 5 mm 2 mm	(>0.1g) .0g		"	-fragmented -was white + soft -dried black + hard	Aug 16, 2000	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transferring from original sheets)

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned side A & B
✓	C 3 2	bone fragment	173° PE 37-39 cm FC	3	16 cm	18 mm 14 mm 9 mm	1.6g		Roots sand & clay	Possible fire-affected	Aug 16, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 3	Quartzite flake	120° PE 10-11.5 cm FC	3	20 cm	22 mm 15 mm 3 mm	1.6g		"	Has striking platform.	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 4	Quartzite Fire-Broken Rock	113° PE 20 cm FC	3	29-31 cm	25 mm 18 mm 16 mm	9.2g		"	Has soot marks	Aug 17, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 5	Quartzite Flake or FBR	150-160° PE 30-33 cm FC	3	20 cm	48 mm 23 mm 4 mm	13.9g		"	Grade 10/11/12 Fieldtrip Sept 25/00	Aug 17, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 6	Quartzite Flake	242° PE 34-36 cm FC	3	17.5 cm	16 mm 14 mm 3 mm	1.5g		"	"	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 7	FBR	245° PE 24-27½ cm FC	3	18 cm	46 mm 25 mm 16 mm	23.2g		"	"	"	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A+B
✓	C 3 8	FBR	225-234 PE 20-22.5 cm FC	3	18 cm	23 mm 24 mm 20 mm	16.3g		Roots, sand & clay	Collected by Courtney. Soot on Crumbling	Aug 17, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 9	FBR	223-226° PE 22.5-24.2 cm FC	3	18.2 cm	18 mm 16 mm 17 mm	7.2g		"	Collected by Courtney Crumbling	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 10	FBR	215.5-217° PE 17.5-24 cm FC	3	18.8 cm	64 mm 56 mm 33 mm	115.5g		"	Excavated by Courtney. DBD from fieldbook.	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 11	FBR	220-238° PE 33-40 cm FC	3	18.5 cm	82 mm 64 mm 26 mm	162.1g		"	Crumbly	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 12	FBR	218-225° PE 44.5-47 cm FC	3	18.5 cm	23 mm 18 mm 9 mm	6.8g		"	Soot marks	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3 13	FBR	244-248° PE 38-41 cm FC	3	19 cm	22 mm 23 mm 23 mm	21.3g		"	Soot marks. Very angular 1 angle almost a cube.	"	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Rebagged	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned side A+B
✓	C 3 14	FBR	260-270° PE 31-33 cm FC	3	20 cm	23 mm 14 mm 10 mm	5.3g		Roots, sand + clay	soot marks angular crumbly	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
	C 3 15	charcol + bone	244-248° PE 41 cm FC	3	20 cm	NOT OPENED OR TOUCHED.	(weighed with tinfoil) 2.1g		"	C14 samples wrapped in tinfoil Not opened or touched.	Aug 18, 2000	N/A
✓	C 3 16	Flake of FBR	333-19° PE 2-7 cm FC	3	20 cm	51 mm 25 mm 10 mm	24.8g		"	Recorded by Zen Sept 27/00 Soot marks	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
	C 3 17	$CaCO_3$	332° PE 27 cm FC	3	20 cm	1.5 mm 1.5 mm 1.5 mm	0.2g		"	Recorded by Rellg. Sept 27/00	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
	C 3 18	Bone Fire affected	270° PE 45-48 cm FC	3	20.5 cm	NOT OPENED OR TOUCHED	(weighed with tinfoil) 4.0g		"	C14 Sample Wrapped in tinfoil recorded by Pete.	Aug 18, 2000	N/A
✓	C 3 19	FBR	285-306° PE 5-7 cm FC	3	20 cm	16 mm 15 mm 9.5 mm	6.2g		"	Recorded by Dave Sept 27/00	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A+B
✓	C 3 20	FBR	225-230° PE 28.5-30 cm FC	3	20.5 cm	21 mm 13 mm 7 mm	3.5g		Roots, sand & clay	Recorded by Raven Sept 27/00	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	FBR	N/W screening	3		17 mm 20 mm 14 mm	8.3g	a	"	Soot Crumbly	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	FBR	N/W screening	3		13 mm 15 mm 11 mm	3.6g	b	"	Soot Crumbly	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	Charcol	N/W screening	3		13 mm 6 mm 3 mm	0.1g	c	"	Fragmenting	"	c-g together
✓	C 3	Charcol	N/W screening	3		11 mm 4 mm 2 mm	0.0g (>0.1g)	d	"	"	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	Charcol	N/W screening	3		7 mm 5 mm 2 mm	0.1g	e	"	"	"	

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: Center

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanner Side A-B
-	C 3	Charcol	N/W screening	3		6 mm 6 mm 1 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g	f	Roots, sand & clay	Fragmentity	Aug 18 2000	C-g together
✓	C 3	Charcol	N/W screening	3		4 mm 5 mm 2 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g	g		"	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	Flake	N/W screening	3		12 mm 10 mm 3 mm	0.6g	h		Possible bifacial	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	Fish Vertebra Whitefish?	N/E screening	3		5 mm 6 mm 4 mm	0.1g	a		Very whole Delicate - wrapped in tissue	"	A - B - C ✓
✓	C 3	Bone	N/E screening	3		7mm 5mm 1mm	0.2g	b		Fragment of long bone shaft.	"	✓ ✓
✓	C 3	(unknown) Stone	N/E screening	3		14 mm 10 mm 2 mm	0.4g	c		Possible FBR or flake.	"	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Reburied

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side 1&2
E 1 1	Duck egg shell (fragments)	320° PE 45 cm FC	1	4cm	22 mm 16 mm 2 mm	0.2g		decomposing root mat	recorded by Jasmine (Fieldtrip Sept 27/00	Aug 10, 2000	
E 1 2	Eggshell attatched to membrane	327° PE 44-46 cm FC	1	47 cm	24 mm 21 mm 3 mm	0.7g		"	recorded by Jasmine Fieldtrip Sept 27/00 tested for CaCO3	Aug 11, 2000	
E 1 3	Unidentified fragment (not $CaCO_3$)	299° PE 28.4 cm FC	1	10 cm	2 mm 2 mm 1 mm	- 0.1g		"	recorded by Jasmine Fieldtrip Sept 27/00	Aug 11, 2000	
E 1 4	Possible larvae Fragmentary + fragile	326° PE. 17.4 cm FC	1	10.3 cm	9 mm 2 mm 2 mm	(>0.1g) =0.0g		"	recorded by Onooroo. Fieldtrip Sept. 27/00	Aug 11, 2000	
E 1 5	Possible larvae	7° PE 38.8 cm FC	1	11.8 cm	12 mm 4 mm 4 mm	0.1g		"	recorded by Pia W-C sept 27/00	Aug 11, 2000	
E 1 6	2 $CaCO_3$	319° PE. 11.6 cm FC	1	12.5 cm	a b 4 mm 1 mm 5 mm 1 mm 2 mm 1 mm	a 0.2g b 0.0g (>0.1g)	a b	"	recorded by Pia W-C sept 27/00 tested with 10% HCl	Aug 11, 2000	

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Willion (transfering from original sheets)

Rebag.! Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A & B
E 2 1	Seed pod	35° ± 5° PE 38 cm ± 5 cm FC	2	17.5 cm	1 mm 5 mm 1 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g		Root + loose soil mixture	Recorded by Crystal Fieldtrip Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000	
E 2 2	2 seed pods (sunflower seeds)	67° PE 42 cm FC	2	18cm	a b 9mm same 5mm as 3mm a	a 0.1g b 0.1g	a b	"	Recorded by Crystal Fieldtrip Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000	
E 2 3	Seed pod (sunflower seed)	240 PE 44 cm FC	2	14 cm	8mm 3 mm 2 mm	0.1g		"	Recorded by Sharon Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000	
E 2 4	2 pieces a - $CaCO_3$ b - bug larvae	N/W Screening	2		a b 4mm 7mm 1mm 7mm 1mm 4mm	a 0.5g b 0.0g (<0.1g)	a b	"	Recorded by Tamara Sept 27/00 tested 10% HCl	Aug 14, 2000	
E 2 5	$CaCO_3$ nodule	290° PE 39 cm FC	2	9.5 cm	6.5mm 5 mm 5 mm	0.1g		"	Recorded by Rosalind Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000	
✓ E 2 6	Blue Wool - very small	290° PE 40 cm FC	2	11.5 cm	1 mm 0.5 mm flat	(>0.1g) 0.0g		"	very, very small recorded by kinsey Jo May 1/01	Aug 14, 2000	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation Unit: East

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
	E 27	unknown - seed pod?	311° PE 46 cm FC	2	5.3 cm	4 mm 4 mm 3 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g		Roots & loose soil mix	recorded by Tyson Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000
	E 28	$CaCO_3$ nodule	292° PE 18.5 cm FC	2	14 cm	9 mm 8 mm 5 mm	0.5g	a	"	recorded by Orlando Sept 27/00 tested 10% HCl	Aug 14, 2000
	"	$CaCO_3$ nodule	277° PE 21 cm FC	2	14.8 cm	16 mm 8 mm 5 mm	1.1g	b	"	recorded by Andrew Sept 27/00	Aug 14, 2000
	"	$CaCO_3$ nodule	277° PE 23 cm FC	2	14.2 cm	20 mm 19 mm 8 mm	3.9g	c	"	recorded by Randolph Sept 27/00	Aug 14 2000
	"	$CaCO_3$ nodule	287° PE 31 cm FC	2	13.9 cm	5 mm 3 mm 3 mm	0.2g	d	"	recorded by Greg Sept 27/00	Aug 14 2000
	"	$CaCO_3$ nodule	284° PE 32 cm FC	2	13.2 cm	12 mm 9 mm 3 mm	1.7g	e	"	recorded by Gary Sept 27/00 tested 10% HCl	Aug 14, 2000

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering from original sheets)

Reburied

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2 9	$CaCO_3$ nodule	322° PE 32 cm FC	2	13.5 cm	9 mm 4 mm 4 mm	0.5g		Roots + loose soil mix	recorded by Gary Sept 27/00	Aug 15, 2000
E 2 10	Pebble coated with $CaCO_3$	282° PE 16 cm FC	2	15 cm	14 mm 11 mm 11 mm	3.3g		"	recorded by Greg Sept 27/00	Aug 15, 2000

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Retrieved / out of order	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned side A + B
	E 2 6	Blue Wool - Very small	290° PE 40cm FC	2	11.5 cm.	1mm by 0.5mm flat	(>0.1g) 0.0g		decomposing root mat	very very small!	Aug 14, 2000	✓ ✓
	E 2 11	rock with $CaCO_3$ deposit	315° PE 37cm FC	2	9.7 cm	29mm/28mm 26mm	33.1g		"	$CaCO_3$ on Part of rock	Aug 15 2000	
	E 2	$CaCO_3$ coating stone		2		1.4cm/1.3cm/ 1cm		a.	"	N/E Screening		
	E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		2		8mm/3mm/ 4mm		b.	"	small circular hole in center, possibly bone N/E screening	Aug 14/15 2000	
	E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular and pitted		2		1.2cm/7mm/ 7mm		c.	"	irregular shape N/E screening	✓	
	E 2	$CaCO_3$ coating stone		2		1.5cm/1.2cm/ 6mm		d.	"	N/E screening	✓	

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		2		12mm/7mm/ 7mm		e	decomposing root mat	N/E Screening	Aug 14/15 2000
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		"		8mm/7mm/ 5.5mm		f	"	"	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		"		11mm/9mm/ 3mm		g	"	"	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		"		9mm/4mm/ 4mm		h	"	"	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		"		13mm/8mm/ 2mm		i	"	"	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule - irregular		"		7mm/5mm/ 3mm		j	"	"	✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		5.5mm/4mm /4mm		k	decomposing root mat	N/E screening	Aug 14/15 2000
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		5.5mm/4.5mm/ 3.5mm		L	" "	" "	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		6mm/4mm/3mm		m	" "	" "	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		1cm/6mm/3mm		n	" "	" "	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		1cm/5mm/6mm		o	" "	" "	✓
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		1cm/5mm/3mm		p	" "	" "	✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		8mm/6mm/3.5mm		Q	decomposing root mat	N/E Screening	Aug 14,15/2000
E2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		9mm/7mm/2.5mm		R	"	"	"
E2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		8mm/5mm/3mm		S	"	"	"
E2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		8.5mm/6mm/5mm		T	"	"	"
E2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		8mm/7mm/4mm		U	"	"	"
E2	$CaCO_3$ one side concave possibly formed around root, possible bone		2		8mm/6mm/5mm		V	"	"	"

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nations #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2	$CaCO_3$ concave		2		7mm/6mm/ 2mm		W	decomposing root mat	N/E Screening	Aug. 14, 15 2000
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		7mm/5mm/ 5mm		X	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		7mm/5mm/ 2.5mm		Y	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		8mm/6mm/ 5mm		Z	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		7mm/5.5mm/ 3mm		AA	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		6mm/4mm/ 1.5mm		BB	" "	" "	" "

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey Jo Ehrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		4mm/3mm/2mm		cc	decomposing root mat	N/E screening	Aug 14, 15 2000
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		5mm/2mm/1mm		dd	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		4mm/4mm/2mm		ee	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		7mm/5mm/3mm		ff	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ rock with deposits		2		3.9cm/2.2cm/1.7cm		gg	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		6.5mm/5mm/2mm		hh	" "	" "	" "

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East Unit

Date Recorded: May 1, 2001 Recorder's Name: Lindsey JaFhrman

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule fragmenting		2		3mm/1mm/1mm		ii	decomposing root mat	N/E screening	Aug 14 15, 2000
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule fragmenting		2		1.5mm/0.5mm/ less than 0.5mm		jj	" "	" "	" "
E 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule		2		5mm/2mm/3mm		KK	" "	" "	" "

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 3 1	$CaCO_3$ nodule	64° PE 43cm FC	3	19.3 cm	5mm 5mm 2mm	0.2g		Sand & clay	Tested with 10% HCl	Aug 16 2000
E 3 2	$CaCO_3$ nodule	36° PE 6 cm FC	3	17.6 cm	6mm 5mm 7mm	0.3g		"		Aug 16 2000
E 3 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	90° PE 21 cm FC	3	15 cm	9mm 7mm 6mm	0.6g		"	Tested with 10% HCl	Aug 16 2000
E 3 4	$CaCO_3$ coating rock	5° PE 36 cm FC	3	15 cm	21mm 19mm 14mm	8.3g		"		Aug 16 2000
E 3 5	$CaCO_3$ coating rock	28° PE 20cm F.C.	3	16 cm	48mm 34mm 27mm	56.1g		"	Tested with 10% HCl	Aug 16. 2000
E 3 6	$CaCO_3$ nodule	38° PE 33cm FC	3	16.9 cm	24mm 18mm 17mm	9.6g		"		Aug 16. 2000

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Rebuned	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A+B
	E 3 7	$CaCO_3$ nodule	45° PE 36 cm FC	3	15.9 cm	8mm 8mm 5mm	0.4g		Sand & clay	tested with 10% HCl	Aug 16 2000	
	E 3 8	rock (quartzite?)	48° PE 36 cm FC	3	18 cm	15 cm 17 cm 14 cm	6.9g		"	Unmodified material	Aug 16 2000	
	E 3 9	FCR? $CaCO_3$ coating	49° PE 41 cm FC	3	18.3 cm	47 cm 33 cm 17 cm	29.1g		"	date FCR through [illegible] J. Burnside suggested	Aug 16 2000	
	E 3 10	$CaCO_3$ nodule	84° PE 33.7 cm FC	3	16.7 cm	3mm 3mm 1mm	0.1g		"		Aug 16 2000	
	E 3 11	1/2 seed pod	180° PE 21cm FC	3	16.3 cm	3mm 3mm .5 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g		"	Round and hollow	Aug 16 2000	
✓	E 3 12	Plastic (grey translucent)	264° PE 50 cm FC	3	15.8 cm	69 mm 44 mm 20 mm	3.1g		"	Balled & fragmented Mixed with dirt + roots Nothing inside the plastic ball.	Aug 17 2000	✓

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ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A+B
✓	E 3	Bone	S/E screening	3		7 mm 5 mm 3 mm	0.1g	a	Sand & Clay	head of shaft. Broken below head.	Aug 16 2000	✓ ✓
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		20 mm 11 mm 4 mm		b	"	Resembles a flake.	"	
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		15 mm 9 mm 8 mm		c	"	Irregular Root holes in nodule	"	
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		13 mm 11 mm 2 mm		d	"		"	
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		11 mm 9 mm 4 mm		e	"		"	
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		12 mm 7 mm 6 mm		f	"		"	

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Rebagged	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		12mm 7mm 5mm		g	sand + clay		Aug 16 2000
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 6mm 5mm		h	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		10mm 6mm 4mm		i	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		7mm 6mm 4mm		j	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 6mm 3mm		k	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 6mm 4mm		l	"		"

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Millioin

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E screening	3		7mm 5mm 4mm		m	Sand + clay		Aug 16 2000
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		7mm 6mm 4mm		n	"	very angular	"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		5mm 6mm 4mm		o	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		7mm 7mm 3mm		p	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 6mm 2mm		q	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 5mm 3mm		r r	"		"

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Rebuned	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/E Screening	3		8mm 8mm 3mm		S	Sand + clay		Aug 16 2000
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		4mm 4mm 6mm		T	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		5mm 5mm 3mm		U	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		9mm 6mm 3mm		V	"	discolored orange fire-affected? Debris?	"
	E 3	Quartzite	"	"		7mm 8mm 4mm		W	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/W Screening	3		10mm 7mm 4mm		a	Sand + clay	tested with 10% HCl	Aug 16 2000

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Relabeled	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	S/W screening	3		9mm 6mm 5mm		b	Sand + clay	Tested 10% HCl Root marks, Soot marks	Aug 16 2000
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		6 mm 5 mm 1 mm		c	"	Tested 10% HCl	"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	N/W screening	3		14 mm 13 mm 6 mm		a	Sand + clay	Discolored orange like E35/E-V Tire	Aug 17 2000
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		14 mm 9 mm 5 mm		b	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8mm 10 mm 5 mm		c	"		"
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		9 mm 7 mm 6 mm		d	"		"

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Rebined Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	N/W Screening	3		10 mm 6 mm 5 mm		e	Sand + clay	Root holes	Aug 17 2000
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8 mm 6 mm 3 mm		f	"		"
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8 mm 5 mm 4 mm		g	"	Root holes	"
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		8 mm 7 mm 5 mm		h	"		"
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		5 mm 6 mm 3 mm		i	"	Root canal:	"
E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	"	"		6 mm 4 mm 4 mm		j	"		"

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: East

Date Recorded: June 1/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned side A+B
	E 3	$CaCO_3$ nodule	N/W screening	3		5mm 7mm 2mm		k	Sand + clay		Aug 17 2000	
✓	E 3	Plastic (grey translucent)	"	"		17mm 13mm 5mm		l	"	Fragmented Mixed with dirt + roots Crumpled	"	✓ ✓
✓	E 3	Plastic (grey translucent)	"	"		13mm 8mm 2mm		m	"	Fragmented. Mixed with dirt + roots. Crumpled.	"	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: South

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transferring and renumbering from original sheets.)

Returned	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanner side A=B
✓	5 1 1	Blue plastic crumpled - possible bog remains	77° PE 38-39 cm FC	1	10 cm	16 mm 9 mm 1 mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g		Grass mat	taken as sample. 5-7 pieces uncovered.	Aug 15, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	5 3 1	Expedient Stone Tool from FBR	127-145°PE 20.5-34 cm FC	3	12.7-19 cm	114 mm 103 mm 58 mm	760.0g		clay + soil mix	Expedient tool. Flakes removed. Fire treated Renumbered	Aug 17, 2000	A1=2 B1=2 ✓ ✓
✓	5 3 2	Flake	229-231° PE 33-35 cm FC	3	20 cm	13 mm 15 mm 5 mm	1.5g		"	Flake N/W quadrant	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	5 3 3	Quartzite Flake	84-95° PE 15.5-21 cm FC.	3	24 cm	49 mm 31 mm 5 mm	12.0g		"	S/E quad. Fire-affected (pinkish)	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	5 3 4	Flake	147-157° PE 27-29 cm FC.	3	22.5 cm	55 mm 28 mm 17 mm	21.2g		"	S/W quad rounded outside edge	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	5 3	Flake Silicified Siltstone	S/E Screening	3		21 mm 17 mm 3 mm	1.3g	a	"	Only flake of this material found.	Aug 17, 2000	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: South

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering and renumbering from original sheets)

Retained	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned	Scanned side A/B
✓	S 3	Fire affected bone	S/E screening	3		8 mm 8 mm 3 mm	0.4g	b	Clay + soil mix	white + chalky looking	Aug 17, 2000	✓	✓
✓	S 3	Flake fragment	S/W screening	3		27 mm 20 mm 6 mm	4.0g	a	4	Quartzite Fire-affected	Aug 17, 2000	✓	✓
✓	S 3	FBR	S/W screening	3		25 mm 24 mm 19 mm	12.3g	b	4		Aug 17 2000	✓	✓
✓	S 3	FBR	S/W screening	3		22 mm 21 mm 23 mm	6.6g	c	4		Aug 17 2000	✓	✓
✓	S 3	Flake	S/W screening	3		21 mm 13 mm 4 mm	1.1g	d	4		Aug 17 2000	✓	✓
✓	S 3	Bifacial Flake	S/W screening	3		25 mm 17 mm 6 mm	3.3g	e	4	Only bifacially worked flake.	Aug 17 2000	✓	✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: South

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million (transfering and renumbering from original sheet)

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	
	S 3	Bone	N/W screening	3		22 mm 11 mm 8 mm	2.1g	a	clay + soil mix	10.4g bone (shaft) fragment	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	S 3	Bone	N/W screening	3		12 mm 12 mm 7 mm	0.6g	b	"	cancellous bone fragment (spongy bone)	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	S 3	Metal (buckle?) (staple?)	N/W screening	3		13 mm 12 mm 3 mm	0.4g	c	"	shaped like ⊂⊃ 4 mm gap	Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓
✓	S 3	stone possible flake	N/W screening	3		9 mm 6 mm 2 mm	0.4g	d	"		Aug 18, 2000	✓ ✓

ARTIFACT RECORD FORM

Site: Alexis First Nation #1 Unit: North

Date Recorded: May 31/01 Recorder's Name: Tara Million

Reburied	Artifact No.	Description	Degrees Past East (PE) / cm From Center (FC)	Level No.	DBD (cm)	Measurements (mm) length/width/depth	Weight (g)	Assocs.	Matrix	Comments	Date Excavated	Scanned Side A
	N1 1	8 samples of land molluscs	All 4 sections	1		Type a b 2mm 4mm 2mm .5mm .5mm .5mm	(>0.1g) 0.0g		root mat	Taken as samples during fieldtrips	Sept 27, 2000	✓ ✓
	N2 1	2 $CaCO_3$ nodules	S/E section screening	2		6 mm 7 mm 3.5 mm	0.2g	a	"	"	"	✓ ✓
	"		S/E section screening	2		5mm 5mm 3 mm	0.1g	b	"	"	"	✓ ✓
	N2 2	Rabbit pellet	214° PE 14.5cm FC	2	9cm	7mm 6mm 4 mm	0.1g		"	Found by Randolph, Greg, Gary and Tara	Sept 27, 2000	✓ ✓

Tara Million

Revised 01/02

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Doctorate Research:

Co-Supervisors: Dr. Clifford Hickey and Dr. Owen Beattie

The anticipated doctorate research will involve the location and possible repatriation of indigenous individuals buried in unmarked graves on the grounds of a residential school. This will be community-based research undertaken in partnership with one or more First Nation's communities, and will emphasize the inclusion of interdisciplinary aspects of research. This research will continue to develop the theoretical and methodological approaches that constitute Aboriginal archaeology, which were initially developed in the Masters Thesis, "Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework: Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman".

Masters Thesis:

Supervisor: Dr. Clifford Hickey

Using Circular Paradigms Within an Archaeological Framework:
Receiving Gifts from White Buffalo Calf Woman

The thesis project involved three general components:

* establishing a program of archaeological practice based on indigenous circular paradigms in partnership with the Alexis First Nation community;
* undertaking a gender-based practice of archaeology within the traditional lands of Alexis First Nation, with particular attention paid to conforming to traditional women's practices;
* active mentorship of Alexis youths, through classroom instruction and field involvement in the MA project, in order for them to gain experience in archaeology and exposure to possible applications of their academic learning.

Native Status:

Saddle Lake First Nation
Registry Number 4620282401

Citizenship:

Canadian

Research Interests:

- Development of First Nations archaeology
- Development of archaeological theory, historical and current
- Development of archaeological ethics, historical and current
- Applied archaeology and community-based research
- Public archaeology, specifically education and curriculum development
- Historical development of archaeology, specifically in colonial contexts
- Archaeological politicization and public policy development
- Gender archaeology
- Boreal, Sub-Arctic and Arctic archaeology
- North American pre-contact archaeology

Education:

09/01-Present	PhD program in Department of Anthropology University of Alberta Edmonton, AB Provisional acceptance dependent on successful completion of MA
09/98-Present	MA candidate in Department of Anthropology University of Alberta Edmonton, AB Defense anticipated in February 2002
09/94-04/98	Bachelor of Arts with Distinction University of Alberta Edmonton, AB
09/87-04/89	Audio-Visual Communications Diploma Grant MacEwan Community College Edmonton, AB

Scholarships/Awards/Grants:

09/01-present	Saddle Lake Educational Sponsorship Saddle Lake First Nation, AB (approximately $17,000/year)

04/01	Student Opportunity Assistance Funding Office of the Dean of Students University of Alberta
09/00-04/01	CIBC Youthvision Graduate Research Award Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada Ottawa, ON ($15,000)
09/00-04/01	Saddle Lake Part-time Educational Sponsorship Saddle Lake First Nation, AB (approximately $3,000/year)
05/99-04/00	Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarship Graduate Scholarship Committee University of Alberta ($9,300)
04/99-03/01	Circumpolar/Boreal Alberta Research Grant Award (C/BAR) Canadian Circumpolar Institute Edmonton, AB ($4,000)
03/99	Clifford H. Skitch Travel Award Department of Anthropology University of Alberta
02/99-09/99	Department of Anthropology/FGSR Graduate Student Research Fund University of Alberta
09/98-09/00	Saddle Lake Educational Sponsorship Saddle Lake First Nation, AB (approximately $17,000/year)
09/97-04/98	Dean's Honors List Faculty of Arts University of Alberta
09/97-04/98	Jeanette Corbierre-Lavell/Mary Two-Axe Early Award Native Women's Association of Canada ($1000)
09/94-04/98	Saddle Lake Educational Sponsorship Saddle Lake First Nation, AB (approximately $17,000/year)

09/87-04/89 Saddle Lake Educational Sponsorship
Saddle Lake First Nation, AB
(approximately $9,000/year)

Professional and Academic Experience:

11/01-present Indigenous Theme Co-Convenor
World Archaeological Congress-5
June, 2003
Washington, DC

06/01-08/01 Student Consultant
First Nations Resource Council: Ooskipukwa Program
Consultant to Turtle Island Heritage Resources as Excavation Supervisor for the Bittern Lake Archaeology Project.
Edmonton, AB

05/01-present Indigenous Steering Committee Member
World Archaeological Congress-5
June, 2003
Washington, DC

03/01-05/01 Archival Research and Educational Outreach
Archival research for powerpoint presentation for community use in conjunction with residential school healing workshops developed by NUNEE Health Authority.
NUNEE Health Authority
Ft. Chipewyan, AB

02/01-06/01 Archaeological Web Page Development
Aboriginal Youth Network
Nechi Training and Health Promotions Institute
Edmonton, AB

02/09/01 Workshop Co-Instructor
'Protocol and Etiquette When Working With First Nation Communities'
Developed and led the Alberta-based half of the workshop.
University of Alberta

01/01-04/01 Teaching Assistant
Introduction to Physical Anthropology (Anthr 209)
University of Alberta

10/17/00	Guest Lecture-'Ghost Dance Archaeology: Obligations and Repercussions of Circular Paradigms' Alberta Archaeology (Anthr 256) University of Alberta
09/00-09/01	Anthropology Workshop Series Co-organizer The co-organizers were responsible for developing six interdisciplinary workshops, co-ordinating instructors, promoting the series, raising funds, and hosting a social event. University of Alberta
09/00-present	President Association of Graduate Anthropology Students (AGAS) University of Alberta
07/00-10/00	Community-based archaeological field excavations MA thesis research Alexis First Nation, AB
09/99-present	Vice-President Conference Committee Association of Graduate Anthropology Students (AGAS) The committee was responsible for developing themes, co-ordinating sessions, and raising funds for the 9th Annual Graduate Student Conference hosted by the Department of Anthropology-"Anthropology in the 21st Century: Beyond the Ivory Tower". The committee is continuing to develop a publication from selected proceedings of the conference. Conference held February 18-20, 2000. University of Alberta
06/99-08/99	Community-based ethnographic fieldwork MA thesis research Alexis First Nation, AB
01/99-04/99	Marking Assistant Peoples and Cultures of South America (Anthr 262) University of Alberta
09/98-12/98	Marking Assistant Peoples and Cultures of Middle America (Anthr 261) University of Alberta

05/98-09/98 STEP (Summer Temporary Employment Program)
Career experience developing background research on MA thesis project.
Canadian Circumpolar Institute
Edmonton, AB

Professional Training:

12/15/98 Traditional Knowledge Workshop-'Working With First Nations/Aboriginal Elders and Their Knowledge: An Information/Training Session for SFM Researchers'
Hosted by the Sustainable Forest Management Network
University of Alberta

07/98-08/98 Archaeology Field Training in Jasper, AB
Anthr 396
University of Alberta

05/98 Forensic Archaeology Workshop
Certificate achieved.
Edmonton, AB

Conference Presentations:

02/22-24/02 "Image, Imaging, and Imagination in Archaeology"
AGAS 11th Annual Graduate Student Conference-'Are We Re-Inventing Anthropology? Disciplinary History and Present Practice'
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
Canada

11/14-18/01 Session chair: "Indigenous Mapping: Ways and Means of Expressing Relationships"
34th Annual Chacmool Conference-'An Odyssey of Space'
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB
Canada

11/14-18/01 "Calcium Carbonate: A Nexus Point for Mapping Archaeological and Aboriginal Relationships"
34th Annual Chacmool Conference-'An Odyssey of Space'
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB
Canada
Co-presented a jointly authored paper with Courtney Cameron.

05/09-13/01 "Ghost Dance Archaeology: Obligations and Repercussions of Circular Paradigms"
Canadian Archaeological Association Conference
Banff, AB
Canada
Poster presentation.

03/02-04/01 "An Exploration of the History of Archaeological Theory and Method Based on the Utilization of Cyclical Time Paradigms"
AGAS 10th Annual Graduate Student Conference-'What Tribe are You? Anthropology and the Politics of Identity'
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
Canada

11/14-19/00 "Ghost Dance Archaeology: Obligations and Repercussions of Circular Paradigms"
American Anthropological Association Conference
San Francisco, CA
USA
Abstract requested as part of an invited, executive session- 'Indigenous Archaeologies'

05/28-31/00 "Community-Based Archaeology at Alexis First Nation, AB"
Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Meeting and Conference as part of 'Congress 2000, The Annual Conference of the Social Sciences and Humanities in Canada'
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
Canada

03/26/00 Participated in 'Revealing Pictures and Reflexive Frames: Multiple Positions from the Photographic Works of Anthropologists in the Four Fields', a visual anthropology gallery display.
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
Canada

03/8-10/00 "Engendering the Archaeologist"
Gender Research Symposium, 2000
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB
Canada
Abstract accepted after committee review.

11/11-14/99 "The Ghost Dance of Archaeology" and
"Community-Based Archaeology at Alexis First Nation, AB"
32nd Annual Chacmool Conference-'Indigenous People and Archaeology'
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB
Canada

03/27/99 "Relevance, Accessibility & Archaeology"
Rutgers Anthropology/Crosscurrents Conference
Rutgers State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick, NJ
USA
Abstract accepted after committee review.

03/13/99 "Relevance, Accessibility & Archaeology"
(preliminary copy)
AGAS 8th Annual Graduate Student Conference
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
Canada

Professional Memberships:

Archaeological Society of Alberta, Strathcona Center
Canadian Archaeological Association
Society for American Archaeology

Publications:

01/31/02 "An Exploration of the History of Archaeological Theory and Method Based on the Utilization of Cyclical Time Paradigms"
Boarders and Boundaries
Native Studies Press
Submitted for review.

12/15/99 "The Ghost Dance of Archaeology"
Proceedings of the 32nd Chacmool Conference
University of Calgary
In press.

04/15/99 "Relevance, Accessibility & Archaeology"
Crosscurrents: The Journal of Graduate Research in Anthropology
Rutgers University
In press.

Volunteer and Extra Curricular:

02/19-20/02	Lab Instructor Choices Conference for grade 6 girls, hosted by WISEST (Women in Scholarship, Engineering, Science and Technology) University of Alberta Edmonton, AB Ran the archaeology lab.
Spring/02	Student Mentor WP Wagner High School Edmonton, AB Mentored a student interested in archaeology and graduate school experiences.
02/20-21/01	Lab Instructor Choices Conference for grade 6 girls, hosted by WISEST (Women in Scholarship, Engineering, Science and Technology) University of Alberta Edmonton, AB Developed and ran the archaeology lab.
Spring/01	Student Mentor WP Wagner High School Edmonton, AB Mentored a student interested in archaeology and graduate school experiences.
05/02/00	Career Fair Sir George Simpson Jr High School St. Albert, AB Co-presenter for anthropology four-field display.
02/22-23/00	Lab Instructor Choices Conference for grade 6 girls, hosted by WISEST (Women in Scholarship, Engineering, Science and Technology) University of Alberta Edmonton, AB Ran the paleontology lab.
Fall/98	Archaeology talks Grades 1-3 Suzuki Charter School Edmonton, AB

Declined:

09/01 PhD Program in Department of Anthropology
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Amherst, Massachusetts, USA
Program offer included assistantship.

References:

Available on request.